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COMPARISON

Abraham Lincoln Comparisons

Groups

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May 1945

LINCOLN IS MORE THAN FIRST AMERICAN

U. S. Senator John Sharp Williams States at Lincoln Memorial Ceremonies.

IS LIKE JEFFERSON

HODGENVILLE, KY., Sept. 9.—(Special.)—Senator John Sharp Williams of Mississippi delivered a fine speech at the Lincoln memorial ceremonies here Labor Day. He said:

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen:

The presentation and acceptance of this generous gift, which is really made to the nation and its people of the United States, whose servants we all are—the President being chief only—is fraught not only with memories, but with meanings too many and too various for one man's expression.

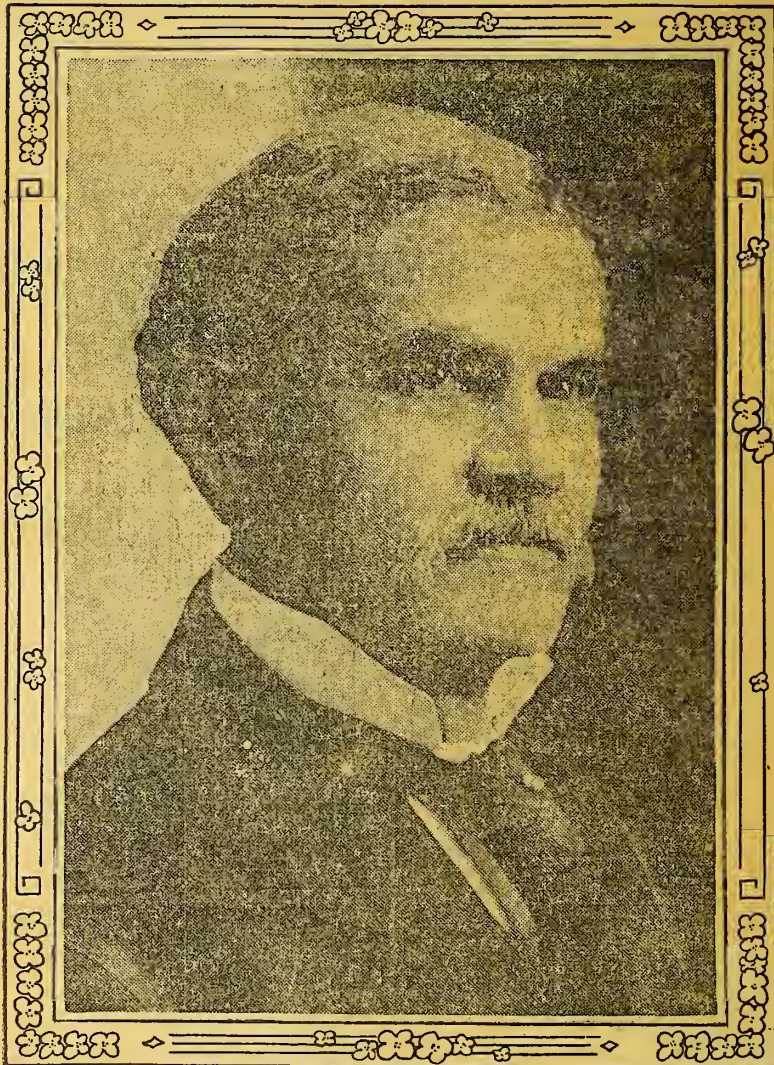
Abraham Lincoln was born in yonder little log cabin. He was not the first nor the only one of our great men to be thus humbly born. He sprang from that poorer class of Southern white people whence sprang also Patrick Henry, Henry Clay, Andrew Jackson and so many others whose names illustrate on the pages of our history the fact that those of humblest origin in a free democracy of equal opportunities can, and often do, reach the very highest station.

Lincoln was not "The First American," as has been said of him. There were preceding him, even in the presidential chair, others who were not colonials of any European people, but thoroughly and altogether American—typical Americans, each in his own way.

Work of the Tide of Time.

He was more than "The First American," however. He was one of the greatest Americans. The tide of time, which has buried animosities and prejudices, has left every reflecting and just mind free and yet compelled to draw that conclusion. He was great, not in the way that Alexander of Macedon or Napoleon of Corsica was, but in a better way. His was not the greatness of genius, nearly always selfish. His was the greatness of common sense and tenderness. It consisted fundamentally in intellectual and moral humility and in intellectual and moral integrity, which salient characteristics enabled him to furnish to the world a spectacle scarcely, if ever, excelled, of self-subordination to the interests, the welfare, the unity of the republic, and, more characteristically perhaps yet, of self-surrender to an enlightened public opinion, the growth of which he shared and studied, the tendency of which he cautiously and wisely guided, and the consummation of which into deed he, at the right moment, effected. He never went so far that the common sense and the conscience of the common people would not keep measurably before him. He never did he ever go so slowly as to leave him stranded on the shore while they passed beyond him,

SENATOR WHO LAUDED LINCOLN



Senator John Sharp Williams.

under other and quicker and abler navigation.

Lincoln Great Human Instrument.

In other words, he was like all the great human instrumentalities of Providence—a part and parcel of the growing form and texture of the time—unconsciously following and consciously directing American public sentiment, as this came naturally or was forced by inevitable circumstance into existence. This enlightened public opinion, for which he had "a decent regard," constituted them as always, the only real controlling force and sovereign power in a country whose people are free and self-governing.

Horace Greeley once accused him of being an opportunist. So are, and must be, all real statesmen in free countries. They weigh opportunity and measure its strength, but they also help to create it and then seize the opportunity to effect the desired result. This is sagacity as contrasted with "smartness." They are opportunists, but they are more.

Like Thomas Jefferson.

Lincoln was in this and some other respects singularly like that other great American, Thomas Jefferson. Both of them were idealists in the closet and statesmen in office. There was no limit to the visions which either had of what Jefferson called "the indefinite perfectibility of human nature," nor to their confidence in the progress and enlightenment of man, under rightly conducted popu-

lar government founded on an enlightened and educated public opinion. Both were Democrats and both believed in the aristocracy of intelligence as the only aristocracy recognizable by freemen. Many dreams which either had have come true. Many more are yet in the womb of fate, certain later to come forth. Yet neither in office ever attempted to force upon the country any result for which a considerable and probably prevailing public opinion was not ready. They attempted to pluck, when in charge of the orchard, no fruit until the fruit was either ripe or ripening, and above all, their purpose was not to kill or even harm the tree. Hence both are accused by men of little minds of "inconsistency!" It is to be noted, however, that neither ever really "deserted a principle or a friend," as Jefferson's daughter proudly said of her father.

No two men who have figured conspicuously in molding the destinies of the English-speaking race ever equaled these two in their abiding, patient and loving reliance upon the rectitude of the purposes of the people and in unswerving faith in the wisdom of their ultimate decision. Lincoln never tired of professing himself a disciple of Jefferson. He went so far at one time as to say that the vital spirit—that is, the birth principle—of American institutions was to be found in the Declaration of Independence, and not in the Constitution of the United States. On no fundamentally great question did they ever materially differ—not even

personal temperament; Lincoln, on the other hand, lived very much more within himself. He was spiritually speaking, a lonesome man—sadly so—but throwing about himself a veil of anecdote and humor—sometimes rough humor—which served as a shield to ward off intrusion. Hidden behind this veil was not only serious but pathetic, and nearly always solitary, thought. Hence that indescribable mixture of humor and pathos which we find in him, as in Shakespeare and Cervantes.

Mr. Jefferson, on the contrary, was frequently witty, but had no sense of humor at all, and seemed to take a sort of delight in letting all the world see every process of his thought as though through a window glass.

Man Is Different.

It is trite now to say that every man in this world is the product of two things—his heredity and his environment. Unlike plants and irrational creatures, however, man is not altogether the product of either or of both. While his environment makes him, he helps to make his environment—can even somewhat change it by conscious purpose. Moreover, while he cannot repress nor reverse, he may influence the tendencies of his heredity even.

Lincoln's family we all know about. There was very little stimulating in its influence. It furnished rather a platform to rise from than a standard to live up to.

Likewise his early environment was, to say the least, discouraging; there was little in it to evoke ambition or to encourage, "hoping through hope, to reach the stars."

But he rose from the platform; he reached the stars.

Within almost modern big-gun-shot distance from where we now stand Jefferson Davis was born.

Both of these men were "Border State" men, Kentuckians; both of them came from pioneer ancestry, who had fought for American free-

dom and had braved the dangers and endured the isolation of the wilderness. It is a curious reflection, though there be not time to indulge in it here and now, as to how far each of these men's future—his political philosophy—the sectional patriotism of each—his leaning to nationality on the one side or to states' rights on the other—might have been altered, mayhap reversed, had Jefferson Davis' family moved him into Indiana and then into Illinois, and had Abraham Lincoln's family moved him first into Louisiana and then into Mississippi. However interesting that inquiry may be, the reverse occurred. Davis became a very extreme Southerner; Lincoln never became an extreme Northerner. The men were very much alike, and yet both were alike in possessing the cardinal human virtues—truthfulness, moral and intellectual honesty, courage, loyalty to ideals. There was, too, somewhat of inflexibility about both, though in one case the inflexibility, while knightly, was stern, logical, unyielding, unhumorous and even proud; while in the other case it was modified by humility and a rich sense of humor, from which flowed that wonderful capacity for "making allowances," that broad knowledge of an opposite's way of looking at things, that sympathetic appreciation of the moods and ways of thinking and the ways of feeling of the untaught and unenriched masses of mankind.

With Davis there was no laughter—noting "sidelights" as he

he made lesser men like Stanton, for example, "very impatient." Davis became the very type of the best plantation life of the extreme South. As a part and parcel of that life he consequently consecrated himself to his section, whose very civilization and social order he thought to be menaced. Lincoln consecrated himself to the nation. Both endured nobly to the very end, each steadfastly "keeping the faith."

Lincoln a Border Man.

Lincoln remained all his life a borderer. In his temperament he came very much nearer that of the Southerner than that of the New Englander, or the New Yorker or Pennsylvanian. No theory of any sort would have ever led him into that gross violation of common sense and common justice, which after the war brought about the grotesque though cruel saturnalia of the Southern reconstruction governments; nor could any theory, or any war experience, however bitter, have brought him to a hatred for the Southern white people, even of the slave-holding class. He lived with none; he died without any.

He was a great nationalist, not only in political vision, but in this: That he knew and loved the people of both sections. He was perhaps the most thoroughly nationalistic and the least sectionalistic of all our presidents, not even excepting George Washington, who never forgot that he was "a Virginian and a gentleman." Hence it is peculiarly appropriate that the legal title to Mr. Lincoln's birthplace should rest in the nation itself.

It may be sadly recorded that while he understood the men of both sections, it is doubtful if any very large percentage of those of either ever understood him until long after he was dead. Jefferson Davis understood him partially; understood fully his utter lack of malice. Witness the superb reply of the chief of the fallen Confederacy when, his attention having been called to President Johnson's proclamation containing the insinuation that he (Davis), had been complicit to the assassination of Mr. Lincoln, he replied: "There is one man in the United States, at any rate, who knows that to be a falsehood. That is the man who wrote it. He knows that I would infinitely rather have Lincoln than to have him in the White House." Davis afterward said: "Next to the loss of the cause itself, the death of Mr. Lincoln was the greatest calamity that ever befell the South."

Shakespeare, whose writings Mr. Lincoln read and loved so much, helped to mold his thought. The broad and sympathetic charity with which he viewed, and sometimes laughed at, all men and women—the wise and the foolish, the just and the unjust, the learned and the ignorant, the sinners whom Christ came to save and the righteous, who "needed not a physician"—was almost Shakespearean—leaving anger against those who might, or might not, deserve it to God who knew—repeating sincerely, as he did in one of his inaugural addresses: "But let us not judge lest we be judged." I think he absorbed from Shakespeare the characteristic breath in expressing thought which led to this: that so many utterances of his are not confined in their applicability to the time or the place where they were made, but expand in appositeness to many places and many times. Even when arguing a concrete institution like slavery his language was universal rather than particular. His English was terse, forcible, Saxon. His Gettysburg speech is the most eloquent illustration of these qualities—verily multum in parvo. It is by all odds the greatest short speech in the English, or, for aught I know, in any language. To illustrate the breadth of applicability of that wonderful dedication speech, one might paraphrase it with slight omission and no material addition, so as to make Mr. Lincoln himself, who was a great orator—because he was a man of eloquent thought—dedicate to the nation that he loved so well the home in which he was born so humbly.

Would there, for example, be anything inapposite for the purposes of this occasion in the use of these words: "Sevenscore years ago our fathers brought forth upon this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal. Now we are engaged * * * in testing whether that nation, or any

nation so conceived and dedicated, can long endure." We have come to "dedicate" to the nation the birthplace of him who "gave" his "life" that the nation might live.

"But in a large sense we cannot dedicate, we cannot consecrate, we cannot hallow, this ground." The brave and patient man who was born here, by his life and death "has consecrated it far above our poor power to add to or to detract." "The world will little note, not long remember, what we say here, but it can never forget" * * * "what he did." "It is for us, the living, rather, to be dedicated to the great task remaining before us" * * * "that from the memory of" this "honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which" he "gave the last measure of devotion; and that we here highly resolve that" he "shall not have lived nor died in vain; that this nation under God shall have" (daily) "a new birth of freedom, and that government of the people, by the people and for the people shall not perish from the earth."

Suppose that in analyzing the character and results to the two sections of the late war between the state, I, the son of a Confederate soldier, were to use this language, which is to be found in Mr. Lincoln's second inaugural address, would it not be a fitting comment for this day and place? Each looked for an easier triumph and a result less fundamental and astounding. Both read the same Bible, and prayed to the same God, and each invoked His aid against the other. * * * The prayers of both could not be answered—that of neither has been answered fully. The Almighty had His own purposes."

Again, what a fine exhortation to renewed love between the reunited sections of these once disunited states would not this language be even now? "With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right, as God gives" each "to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in" (and having already bound up the nation's wounds) "do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations."

My fellow citizens! We call one another fellow citizens now from Maine to Florida and even "where Oregon rolls." We are fellow citizens now and this "indissoluble Union of indestuctible states" which all of us so intensely love has been re-established only because, as Lincoln said, "God had purposes of His own." "The stars in their course fought against" the South as they fought of old "against Siseria."

Yet again, pursuing my illustration, all realize the present applicability, with slight verbal alterations, of what Mr. Lincoln said in his first inaugural address: "Physically speaking, we cannot separate. We cannot remove our separate parts from each other, nor build up our walls between them. A divorce and wife may be divorced. * * * of the presence and beyond the reach of each other; but the different parts of our country cannot do this."

"We are not enemies, but friends. We must not be enemies. Though passion may have strained, it must not break our bonds of affection. The mystic chords of memory, stretching from every battlefield and patriot grave to every living heart and hearthstone, all over this broad land, once more 'swell the chorus of the Union,' as they forever shall 'when * * * touched, as surely they will be, by the better angels of our nature.'"

"The mystic chords of memory!" What a world of potency there is in a phrase! These "mystic chords of memory" are the richest heritage and possession of any great people. The music which is made upon them is sad; but it is embracing, it "holds the heart up higher." It is music in memoriam of "the generous and patriotic spirits" of a country; of "it buried warlike and its wise." It is always well then, by monument and memorial, to keep all worthy memories fresh in the minds of the people—thus inducing each generation to re-think, re-feel and re-live that which was noblest and worthiest in the generations preceding it. Thus we shall have the nation make of its foregone generations "stepping-stones of a dead self" wherefrom to rise "to higher things."

LEVIN AND LINCOLN LINKED BY RABBIS

Kelly and Washington Also Put in Same Patriotic Category

Washington, Lincoln, Colin Kelly and Meyer Levin were hailed as exemplars of the true spirit of brotherhood in sermons by rabbis here yesterday, marking the observance of Brotherhood Week. Sergeant Levin was killed recently when a plane fell into the sea during a storm. He had been a bombardier for the late Captain Kelly.

"With the names of Lincoln and Washington," said Rabbi William F. Rosenblum in Temple Israel, 210 West Ninety-first Street, "can now be added the names of Colin Kelly and Meyer Levin, two native sons from different origins, who in common loved their country and wanted its freedom to become what Washington and Lincoln dreamed American liberty would be, the design for living for all men on earth."

In the Brotherhood Week service in Temple Rodeph Shalom, 7 West Eighty-third Street, the Rev. Dr. Edgar F. Romig, pastor of the West End Collegiate Reformed Church, referred to the bond of fellowship between the Dutch settlers of New Amsterdam in the seventeenth century and the first Jewish newcomers. Rabbi Louis I. Newman described the present program of good-will between Christians and Jews as "a perfect fulfillment of the ideal of George Washington."

"Washington's Birthday," Rabbi Israel Goldstein said in Temple B'nai Jeshurun, Eighty-eighth Street, near Broadway, "should serve as a reorientation in American idealism. Washington was not satisfied with the word 'tolerance' because tolerance has in it a suggestion of condescension. The American way calls for respect and appreciation rather than tolerance between one group and another."

—GOODNESS IS NEVER LOST—

WASHINGTON LINCOLN WILSON

How often have you heard the saying, "The evil that men do lives after them; the good is oft interred with their bones"? The names that sing from history's pages are the names of men of good will who, forgetful of themselves, dedicated their lives to worth-while ideals. They live in their good deeds, which like a benediction, remain to inspire and give us heart for what is ahead.

George Washington had little to gain when he threw in his lot with the Revolution. He was of the Colonial aristocracy. He had assured position, respect and money enough for his needs. Revolution could not advance his personal fortune, but might well destroy it. Defeat—and the odds often seemed insurmountable—would bring ostracism and contempt, the loss of all he held dear and perhaps death. He did not hold back. He threw it all in the scales. In so doing, he brought a great nation into being. The shrines and monuments reared to his memory are only outward symbols of esteem. The centuries may erase them. But so long as Americans survive, his memory will remain fresh and alive. The good he did will live after him.

Abraham Lincoln could have let the tide carry him. He might have compromised. If he had, he probably would have escaped agony of heart and mind. He might even have been spared a martyr's death. But his simple nobility, devoid of self, kept him to his great task. He held the Union together and freed the slaves. Has the good he wrought been forgotten? Go to Washington and watch people standing reverently before his statue to find solace and courage.

Woodrow Wilson, in one sense, he too was a failure. He failed at a crucial time in the history of his his country and the world. He went out of office a broken man. The ideal for which he had fought, a world organized for peace, lay in the dust. His countrymen had turned against him. But his spirit did not waver. And he did not fight and die in vain. Today another war is raging, as he foresaw and attempted to forestall. The leaders of the world and the great mass of humankind have come to realize the greatness of his spirit and the immensity of his dream for a peaceful world. Though he failed temporarily, he has joined the gallery of the world's immortals.

GOODNESS IS NEVER LOST—no matter who performs it, or where. Your name may not live in history books—but your influence can live in the memories of your family, your friends and your community. Success or failure, every man has the opportunity to leave that great heritage. He can be a flaming spirit who lights the way to a better and more decent world. Your immortality lies in you—and in the things you do now. For the good you do lives after you.

SEE
US
BEFORE
YOU
BUY

EVERYTHING
FOR
THE
HOME



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SHERWOOD ANDERSON draws an interesting comparison between the characters of Lincoln, Mark Twain and Walt Whitman for the benefit of his friend Van Wyck Brooks who was engaged in writing *The Ordeal of Mark Twain*. (From *Letters of Sherwood Anderson*, edited by Howard Mumford Jones, Little, Brown and Company, 1953).

Chicago, June 7, 1918

Dear Brooks:

If I can fix one thought in your mind, I will feel more free in approaching you. When I write to men like you and Waldo Frank, I do it to cut the fog of my own loneliness. If I can make you feel that no letter of mine demands answering, I shall feel more freedom.

I have had an experience lately that will be of interest to you. I got suddenly an impulse to read everything I could get hold of on Lincoln. Waldo Frank stirred up the impulse in me by giving me Charnwood's life. I read others.

I am wondering if you might not profitably go to Lincoln for a greater understanding of Twain and Whitman. There is something, a quality there, common to the three men. In Lincoln it is perhaps more out in front of you.

I got a sense of three very honest boys brought suddenly to face the complex and intricate world. There is a stare in their eyes. They are puzzled and confused. You will be inclined to think Whitman the greater man perhaps. He came closer to understanding. He lacked Lincoln's very great honesty of soul.

(over)

"Acknowledging the Corn"

Twain's way lies somewhere between the road taken by the other two men.

I am struck with the thought that I would like to have you believe that Twain's cheapness was not really a part of him. It was a thing out of the civilization in which he lived that crept (in) and invaded him.

Lincoln let it creep in less, because he was less warm and human. He did not love and hate. In a simple, solid way he stuck to abstract principles. He squares up to those principles. That's what makes him so big.

There is a kind of unconscious dodging in that. The country girl who died—I mean Ann Rutledge—left Lincoln a thing to love that wasn't living and about. He could reach out his hand to that shadowy thing when he was lonely. It was all very fine for the making of the big, stony thing that stood up sometimes before the world.

Twain got more deeply into the complex matter of living. He was more like you and me, facing more nearly our kind of problems.

Here I am going to confess something to you. Whitman does not mean as much to me as do the other two. There is somewhere a pretense about him, even trickiness. When I was a boy and another boy caught me fairly doing some second-rate thing, I was supposed to do what we called "acknowledge the corn."

Lincoln wouldn't have done the second-rate thing.

Twain would and would have acknowledged the corn.

Whitman wouldn't have owned up . . .

Sherwood

Only In America

America's Parallel Of The Phillipics

BY HARRY GOLDEN

Some nations have been lucky when history called upon them for a crucial decision. They have had the man who spelled out beforehand the consequences of right and wrong. Zola warned France of her dishonor if she did not free Dreyfuss and Churchill warned first the British cabinet in the '30s, and then the British people in the '40s, of the sacrifice needed to beat Hitler.

But the two nations who parallel each other in their ability to produce a leader who can spot right from wrong are America and ancient Greece. Americans and Greeks tried to weigh issues in public debate. America heard the Lincoln-Douglas debates of 1858 and Greece heard the Phillipics which started in 351 B.C.

The Phillipics were a series of public debates between Demosthenes and Isocrates.

AFTER THE WAR between Athens and Sparta, the Greek states were wrecked by internal dissension. Across the Bosphorus, the Persians grimly watched the struggle, smiling to themselves in anticipation of occupying Greece with a bloodless invasion.

Isocrates, a popular pamphleteer and teacher, argued for a leader strong enough to unite Greece and march on Persia. The leader Isocrates wanted, Phillip of Macedonia. He told the Greeks Phillip was their friend and to get behind him.

Demosthenes was less impressed with Phillip. He saw in Phillip a bigger enemy than the Persians. He stumped the country warning the Greeks that Phillip was the real menace. But Demosthenes' arguments did not convince the Greeks. They never seriously tried to stop Phillip. When Phillip died, his son Alexander the Great took his place and then it was too late. Alexander went on to conquer the known world and only his early death stopped him by the banks of the Ganges (you can still see ruins of Greek temples in India). The overwhelming surge of Macedonian conquest submerged Greece and her democratic traditions.

THE LINCOLN-DOUGLAS debates also outlined two courses for history to follow. Lincoln and Douglas were trying to determine whether slavery would be a national or local issue. Lincoln said it was national issue and it would have to be resolved constitutionally. Douglas argued that whites had a natural superiority, that slavery was a question of Popular Sovereignty—the settlers of each new Federal territory ought to decide upon the issue in that territory. This policy used to be called squatters sovereignty because it left the question of slave or free to people who hurried to the territories for the sole purpose of voting. Lincoln said Douglas' Popular Sovereignty was a moral and logical straddling. He demolished the doctrine with the aphorism that it meant "that a thing may be lawfully driven from a place where it had a lawful right to go." Douglas' artful forensics won him the senatorial election.

BUT THE COUNTRY listened to Lincoln and made him President. Douglas, however, was an American patriot. When Ft. Sumter was fired on, he was Lincoln's first ally. The tragic difference between America and Greece was that the Greeks did not heed Demosthenes and were unable to ally themselves for the defense of Hellas. Americans listened to Lincoln and preserved the Union.

The Most Christ-Like Man Since Christ

The most Christ-like man since Christ, Abraham Lincoln, was born 158 years ago in a windowless hovel near Hodgenville, Ky.

Lincoln not only liberated from chattel slavery three million human beings but he gave enduring impetus and inspiration all over the world to mankind's eternal and unquenchable quest for freedom.

He saved from dismemberment

the only truly democratic government then existing anywhere in the world. He prevented government "of the people, by the people, and for the people" from perishing.

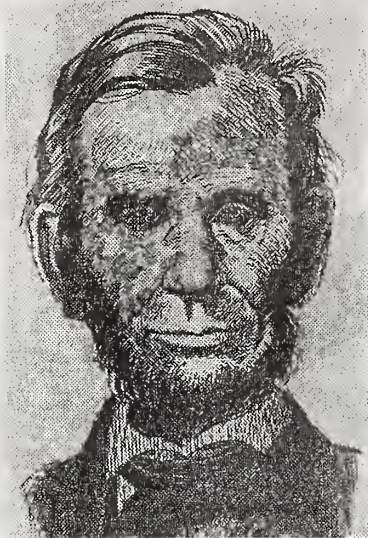
Georgia's greatest son, Henry W. Grady, said of the savior of our nation, "He stands as the first typical American, the first to comprehend within himself all the strength and gentleness, all the majesty and grace of this republic. He was the sum of Puritan and Cavalier, for in his ardent nature were fused the virtues of both, and in the depths of his great soul the faults of both were lost. He

was greater than Puritan, greater than Cavalier, in that he was American, and in his honest form were

first gathered the vast and thrilling forces of this ideal government . . ."

As a sorrowing friend said of Grady, so may it be said of Lincoln, "He had a matchless grace of soul that made him an unfailing winner of hearts. He grew flowers in the garden of his heart and sweetened the world with the perfume of his spirit. His command of language was as boundless as the realm of thought . . . and his pathos as deep as the well of tears."

It would become all Americans, as well as lovers of freedom everywhere, to offer up thanks that Lincoln lived.



Comparison with other
Companions 24

'He Had Lived Long Enough; He Could Die'

In an age of shoddy politics and flawed leaders, it is well to contemplate that Abraham Lincoln walks eternally at midnight, a man, as Vachel Lindsay wrote, who "will not rest: . . . among us, as in times before." We have peered into the solitude of his eyes at the Lincoln Memorial in Washington and in hundreds of photographs taken in his lifetime, and we have seen the death mask after he had been fatally shot by an assassin in a box at Ford's Opera House almost 109 years ago.

Two days from now we shall recall his birth 165 years ago in a log cabin in Hardin County, Ky., and know that he, as we, was mortal. We will remember the melancholy refrain so often in his head and on his lips, "Why should the spirit of mortal be proud?" It has been said that he forgot himself into immortality, and that out of the tragic sense of life he pitied where others blamed.

HIS NATURAL piety and moral magnanimity are expressed in such lines as those of Emily Dickinson:

I have no time to hate be-
cause the grave would hind-
er me;
And life is not so simple I
could finish enmity.

Had he survived the War Be-

tween the States, he would have visited no vengeance upon his adversaries. He would have acted, as he said at Gettysburg, "with malice toward none; with charity for all."

AND, INDEED, he shared much with these men who were devoted to a different cause. The portrait of Gen. Robert E. Lee, commander of the Confederate Army of Northern Virginia, still occupies an honored place at the Military Academy at West Point, where he graduated in 1829, the son of Light-Horse Harry Lee, the great cavalry commander and hero of the War of the Revolution.

Among Robert E. Lee's West Point contemporaries were Jefferson Davis, later president of the Confederate States of America, and men who became Lee's comrades in arms in the ranks of the South. These were Albert Sidney Johnston, victor over Grant at Shiloh but killed in action three years before Lincoln's death; Joseph E. Johnston, the ill-fated commander defeated by Grant at Vicksburg, outmaneuvered by Sherman in Tennessee, and the last Confederate commander to surrender in 1865; and Leonidas Polk, famous in the Confederacy as the "fighting bishop."

WHAT DID these men who rallied to a flag other than that of the Union share with Lincoln?

George Morgenstern



Perhaps more than anything else the antique virtue of equanimity, which may be set even above courage. It is a state of mind which submits itself willingly to the judgment of time, in the consciousness of righteous effort and in the humble admission that the finite mind cannot be infallible.

Lincoln was conscious of his limitations as well as of his duty and opportunity. He had a fatalism which induced him to say to his aide, Col. Crook, on the last day of his life, "Crook, do you know, I believe there are men who want to take my life? If it is done, it is impossible to prevent it."

LEE ACCEPTED inevitable defeat with resignation and retired to the family home at Arlington in such straitened circumstances that the final acre of his once considerable land holdings was confiscated for taxes. He lived out the final five years of his life according to his one notable apothegm, that "duty" was the most sublime word in the English language.

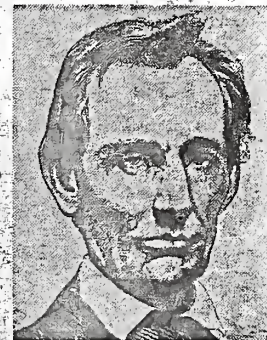
Celebrated throughout the world for his genius in the field

and his unshakable character, he renounced honors and awards. He was offered a manor house in England, with an annuity; the control of large corporations in New York; the governorship of Virginia; command of the Romanian army, and the presidency of the Chesapeake & Ohio Railroad.

HE HAD, he said, "a self-imposed task: I have led the young men of the South in battle. I have seen many of them die on the field. I shall devote my remaining energies to training young men to do their duty in life." And, at the gaunt salary of \$1,500 a year, he accepted the presidency of poverty-stricken Washington College — "to accomplish something for the benefit of mankind and the honor of God."

Albert Sidney Johnston died in the Peach Orchard at Shiloh breathes away from victory, but perhaps the most haunting of the great Confederate commanders was Thomas Jonathan (Stonewall) Jackson, mortally wounded at Chancellorsville in May 1863, by accidental fire of his own troops. His shattered left arm was amputated in the field. He lingered 10 days. His wife came to him, read him the Psalms, and sang to him a hymn, "Shew Pity, Lord."

JACKSON'S LAST words were, "Let us cross over the river, and rest under the shade of the trees."



ABRAHAM LINCOLN
... Born in log cabin

They provided a curious parallel to Lincoln's last dream of an indescribable vessel floating rapidly to an unknown shore.

All of these men lived and died in the detached purity of a resignation that accepted the human condition on its own terms. When word of Lincoln's death reached a grieving outside world, perhaps the message of the people of Caen, France, best expressed the universal sentiment. They spoke not in pity, because Lincoln had prevented the dismemberment of his country and had abolished slavery. He had, they said, "lived long enough; he could die."

Lincoln Admired Most By Readers, Poll Shows



Kennedy



Roosevelt



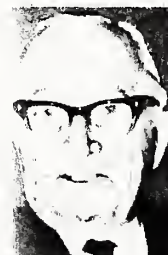
King



Joseph



MacArthur



Truman



Abraham Lincoln

1976
Abraham Lincoln is tops with GRIT readers. At least, that is the implication of the recent poll of readers. Those who responded to the question—Who do you most admire from American history?—overwhelmingly chose the 16th President of the United States.

Lincoln received about one-third of the total vote of most-admired historical figures. He had a strong lead among top contenders—in descending order of popularity) Franklin D. Roosevelt, George Washington, Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Jefferson, Douglas MacArthur, John F. Kennedy, Chief Joseph, Martin Luther King, Dwight D. Eisenhower, and Robert E. Lee.

Following are excerpts from some of the testimonials which GRIT readers wrote:

Martin Luther King: "He died for his country to be free, and he believed in freedom."—Cassandra Harper, Pensacola, Fla.

Abraham Lincoln: "He wasn't afraid of what other people thought of him, but he did only what he thought was best for the nation."—Renee Gentry, Lapeer, Mich.

Joseph R. McCarthy: "He was the first casualty on the homefront in the battle against communism."—Edna Peterson, Anaconda, Mont.

Thomas Jefferson: "He was one of the most accomplished of our forefathers, being a statesman, architect, musician, inventor, writer, and more. He devoted that talent and genius to his country."—Janet R. Buntz, Scranton, Pa.

George Washington: "He maintained the protective guarding force that permitted this delicate flower of liberty to grow from seed to full flower. The nourishing input from the pen of Thomas Jefferson, the oratory of Patrick Henry, the business know-how of Alexander Hamilton, the diplomatic wisdom of Ben Franklin would have been of little value without a protective force."—George M. Mizell, Mechanicsburg, Pa.

Benedict Arnold: "He was the second-best general we had in the 18th Century; three times he saved the American colonies from extinction."—Huntly Palmer, Montpelier, Vt.

John F. Kennedy: "He didn't have the necessary time to accomplish all the things he wanted to do for his country . . . but he showed that life could be the greatest accomplishment ever."—Rhonda Mitchell, Wheatland, Wyo.

Robert E. Lee: "He had the courage to fight for what he felt was right; he was a real Southern gentleman."—Martha C. Heller, Elizabeth, Ill.

Abraham Lincoln: "He kept his integrity in all the affairs of state." Mrs. Roy Feaster, Carmel, Ind.

Benjamin Franklin: "Although he founded great institutions and helped create the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution, he often seemed most proud of his smaller achievements; and so am I."—Enos Powell, Wooster, Ohio.

George Washington Carver: "Anyone with a green thumb can't help but be amazed at what he could do with plants and the soil."—Milton Bowers, Kansas City, Mo.

Tom Dooley: "This jungle doctor in Laos was so unselfish to give so much of his time and effort to help those less fortunate than himself."—Mrs. Tom Munson, Frankfort, Ky.

Chief Joseph: "He went out of his way to avoid fighting the American troops. However, when finally forced to fight, he fought with such skill and determination against odds of 7-1 that he earned the everlasting respect of the U.S. Army."—Lt.-Col. Oscar H. Stroh (Ret.), Harrisburg, Pa.

Harry S. Truman: "He accepted great responsibility with courage and determination and made decisions that have greatly benefited America."—Quentin Dunn, Sabin, Tex.

Franklin D. Roosevelt: "He brought this country out of a bad depression and spread confidence wherever he went."—Lizzie Keeler, Souderton, Pa.

Everyman: "The so-called little persons behind great people are the ones to admire. The average citizen of the United States must be the most-admired person in history. I suggest that everyone take a trip to the nearest cemetery and choose any number of those who are resting there, for without them we would not have the wonderful United States."—Lucy Bartlett, Elkhart, Ind.

Following is a list of prominent persons whom readers said they admire:

Revolutionary Figures: Abigail Adams, Nathan Allen, Benedict Arnold, Charles Carroll, George Rogers Clark, Benjamin Franklin, Nathan Hale, Patrick Henry, John Paul Jones, Richard H. Lee, John Marshall, Thomas Paine, William Penn, Caesar Rodney,etsy Ross, Roger Sherman.

Presidents: John Adams, John Quincy Adams, Dwight D. Eisenhower, Alexander Hamilton, Herbert Hoover, Andrew Jackson, Thomas Jefferson, Andrew Johnson, John F. Kennedy, Abraham Lincoln, James Madison, Franklin D. Roosevelt, Theodore Roosevelt,

Harry S. Truman, George Washington.
Indians: Crazy Horse, a Sioux chief; Osceola, a Seminole chief; Joseph, a Nez Perce chief.

Military Figures: George A. Custer, Stonewall Jackson, Robert E. Lee, Douglas MacArthur, George B. McClellan, George S. Patton, John J. Pershing.

Politicians: Hale Boggs, William Jennings Bryan, Jefferson Davis, Joseph McCarthy, Thomas By Reed.

Literary, Artistic Figures: Walt Disney, Francis Scott Key, Horace Mann, Edgar Allan Poe, William Sydney Porter, Ernie Pyle, Will Rogers, Henry David Thoreau, Mark Twain,

Noah Webster.

Scientists, Inventors: George Washington Carver, Thomas Edison, Booker T. Washington, Eli Whitney.

Religious, Humanitarian Figures: Clara Barton, Dr. Tom Dooley, Frederick Douglass, Mary Baker Eddy, Martin Luther King, George Whitefield, John Witherspoon.

Miscellaneous: Johnny Appleseed, John Birch, Dr. Elizabeth Blackwell, Daniel Boone, John Wilkes Booth, Buffalo Bill Cody, Dave Crockett, J. Edgar Hoover, Mary Todd Lincoln, Charles Lindbergh, Martha Mitchell, Eleanor Roosevelt.

For History With a Sense of Presence

By HERBERT MITGANG

Some historians delving into the past go to libraries to research their books; others go to onetime scenes of action. And some, like John Keegan, author of an acclaimed new military history, "The Mask of Command," manage to do both — blend past scholarship with modern reportage.

Mr. Keegan's books have been praised for capturing a sense of presence on old battlegrounds long after the spears are rusted and the bullets spent. When he wrote "Six Armies in Normandy," the 53-year-old British author, who was a boy during World War II, trudged up and down the D-day countryside to see for himself what the fighting man had once experienced. In "The Face of Battle," he envisioned the realities of war through the eyes of the ordinary soldier by studying scenes of action and speaking to those who were there.

In his latest book, Mr. Keegan assigned himself a far more ephemeral task: trying to fathom the nature of military leadership in its moral, psychological and political aspects.

To do so, he chose to write four challenging case histories of commanding generals: Alexander the Great, who conquered much of the civilized world between 334 and 323 B.C.; the Duke of Wellington, whose campaigns carried him from India to Waterloo early in the 19th century; Gen. Ulysses S. Grant, the winning commander of the Union Army during the Civil War, and — surprisingly — Adolf Hitler.

Few people think of Hitler as a general," Mr. Keegan said the other day during a visit to New York, "but

he was covered three times over as Germany's top military ruler. In 1934, when he assumed the presidency, he became titular chief of the German army and navy. In 1938, he invested himself with supreme operational authority over the armed forces. And in 1941, he took command of the German Army and thereafter exercised direct control of the German armies in the field. He was supreme commander not only in name but in fact. But his supreme command was no more than a charade of false heroics."

"I first became interested in writing about military affairs while a student," Mr. Keegan said. His preparation as a historian began at Oxford and continued at Sandhurst, the Royal Military Academy, where he taught several subjects, including World War II and American military history, for 25 years. Two years ago, he was invited to switch jobs — from senior lecturer at Sandhurst to defense and military correspondent of The London Daily Telegraph.

"I thought to myself, if I don't do it now, I'll be an academic all of my life," he said. "So I left Sandhurst and I've been enjoying myself ever since as a journalist. I discovered to my satisfaction that I could write quickly. I write three or four times a week, usually including one big piece." Mr. Keegan said that on some of the major British newspapers, three people covered military matters — a defense, a naval and an air correspondent. "Defense is a sanitized term but it's a traditional title," he said. "It sounds as if nobody gets hurt in war."

Mr. Keegan has frequently gone into the field to see areas of conflict for himself. He has been to Lebanon,



The New York Times/Neal Boenzi

John Keegan

Afghanistan and South Africa. And he has also reached back into the past for his books by studying the theaters of war.

"I do know the Western battlefields," he said. "I have retraced Wellington's campaigns in the Iberian Peninsula and at Waterloo and tracked some of Alexander's pathways in the Near East."

A Civil War Tour

In addition, Mr. Keegan has traveled widely across the American Civil War landscape, North and South. He has visited just about every battlefield where the Union and Confederate armies clashed — the solid back-

ground behind his chapter called "Grant and Unheroic Leadership."

"At the age of 23, after I graduated, I came to the United States on a grant to study the Civil War in the actual places where it was fought," he said. "I set off by car down U.S. 1, got to Washington, and then on to the battlefields and sites — Richmond, Petersburg, Atlanta, Charleston, all the way to the Gulf. In three or four months, I managed to do most of the Civil War."

Asked for his opinion as a military expert of General Grant and the Commander in Chief, President Lincoln, Mr. Keegan said, "They worked together beautifully. I've always admired Grant as a general very much, and I've also admired his memoirs for their straightforward literary ability. It's difficult to find enough superlatives for Lincoln as Commander in Chief. He clearly couldn't lead the Army himself, but he was very good at telling who was bad at the job. He was willing to dismiss losing generals until he found his man in Grant."

Mr. Keegan said one reason Lincoln and Grant were successful was that each respected the other's role.

"General Grant had a very proper view of the relationship between an American military commander and the President," he said. "Grant knew that under the Constitution he could not overstep his bounds — that the President was his superior. The situation in Britain is similar. In both countries, it's a legally gray area, but obviously the President and the Prime Minister must be dominant over military leaders, in war and peace."

REMEMBER THE NEEDIEST!

Dan Rather's Sharp Elbows

JFC 2/2/88

By STANFORD ERICKSON

CONVERSATIONS

A journalist and a shipping executive were standing together on a 12-meter yacht that was cutting through the ocean when suddenly the wind changed. The boom of the sail swung back over the boat, knocking both into shark-infested waters.

Waiting for such an opportunity, a huge shark sprang forward and went for the journalist. The crew on the yacht screamed and threw life buoys to both men. The shipping executive lunged for the buoy and was quickly lifted out of the water. The journalist had further to go to reach the buoy and besides the shark was heading right for him. But then at the last minute, the shark veered off.

Once the journalist was safely aboard the yacht he was asked why the shark had not attacked him. He shrugged his shoulders and smiled. "Probably out of professional courtesy," he said.

Dan Rather's interview last week with Vice President George Bush made me think of this story.

Before Dan Rather was the anchor at CBS evening news, he covered the White House during the Nixon administration. I would sometimes encounter Mr. Rather in Washington in those days while working as a print journalist. Tom Brokaw, who anchors NBC's evening news, also was a White House correspondent for NBC back then.

We print journalists used to say that Mr. Rather and Mr. Brokaw had the sharpest elbows in journalism.

Whenever the president appeared, it was the television's newsman's job to get as close to the president as possible. The TV cameraman could then pan from the president to Mr. Brokaw or Mr. Rather. Both Mr. Brokaw and Mr. Rather would literally beat their way through the crowd of journalists to get next to the president.

I say this by way of indicating that I am no fan of Mr. Rather. In my opinion, he has often been unduly impolite in his pursuit of the news. His style simply does not appeal to me.

Having said that, I believe Mr. Rather had every right as a journalist to ask Mr. Bush about his knowledge of the Reagan administration's attempt to exchange arms for hostages with Iran. Mr. Rather was doing his job. His technique could have been better. But what makes journalism useful to our society is this pursuit of truth.

An obscure member of Congress representing the state of Illinois once was one of the few voices critical of this country's desire to invade Mexico. The U.S. government had claimed that Mexican soldiers had invaded the United States and shot and killed U.S. sol-

diers. Abraham Lincoln took on his trumped up claim and asked to be shown the exact spot of U.S. soil on which American blood had been spilled. His question was dismissed out of hand by the government and the U.S. army launched a war against Mexico. Next time Mr. Lincoln ran for Congress, he was defeated. But a nation remembered his courage and honesty and that night have contributed to his being elected president years later.

Many believe that Mr. Bush made a mistake in not opposing or at least being critical at the time of the plan to trade arms with Iran in exchange for U.S. hostages. Mr. Lincoln, he is not. But I am even more upset in his being critical of Dan Rather for asking the question.

Perhaps I am particularly sensitive of this because I usually end up yelling the irate calls this newspaper receives from time to time from people in the industries we cover. Sometimes we are at fault: our reporters or I have botched a story. When that happens, we usually are quick to apologize and to print a correction.

But more often than not the person who calls is not complaining about the accuracy of the story. He or she readily admits that the story is correct but is upset that we reported it. "How could you do that?" the person will say. "You're our paper. You should support us."

Because The Journal of Commerce is a unique newspaper cov-

ering in-depth industries that few other daily newspapers take seriously, many of our readers have taken a proprietary interest in our paper. They think of it as their newspaper. We appreciate that. But it is also our responsibility to report the news accurately, fairly, and honestly.

One of our East Coast subscribers recently complained to me about a story we printed. "Why don't you print the press release as we give it to you," he said. He then mentioned a well-known trade publication. "That's what they do," he said. "Why can't you support our company like they do?"

A free press is a relatively modern development. It's largely a U.S. invention. With some 1,700 daily newspapers and 8,000 weekly newspapers, this country has more journalists attempting to report news than any other country in the world.

A free press is not something only journalists should revel in. It is something we should all foster.

Yes, there appears to be a growing arrogance among the media. And yes, Dan Rather typifies that to a degree. But I would rather have Dan Rather throwing hardball questions at Mr. Bush than Tom Brokaw throwing softballs at Mikhail Gorbachev.

Stanford Erickson is editor of The Journal of Commerce.

Mr. Bush, Meet Mr. Lincoln

When he received an honorary degree at all-black Central State University recently, Vice President George Bush vowed to "knock down the walls of indifference" to minorities. "We must take specific steps to include those who have been excluded," he said, asserting by way of illustration that his own party must "broaden its base."

It was a laudable speech, not widely noted. But if Mr. Bush is serious about opening his party to minorities, he could profitably read — and even act on — a recent and alarming indictment of the G.O.P.'s lily-white power structure.

The report is the work of an interracial New York group known as the Freedom Republicans. It argues that membership in the party's two main institutions, the Republican National Committee and the National Convention, is weighted disproportionately toward small states and against more populous states — meaning that blacks and other minorities are grossly underrepresented.

The Freedom Republicans suggest reforms to more nearly reflect the nation's demographic realities. The most dramatic would overhaul the National Committee, which now contains three delegates from each state (regardless of population), one voting black member (from the Virgin Islands) and a handful of so-called "auxiliary" members who add a racial and ethnic touch but can't vote.

The proposal would vastly expand the present committee from 153 to 538 members, equal to the Electoral College vote. New York's representation would be raised from 3 to 36, for example; California's to 47. This would not *guarantee* anything. But the report reasons that minority participation will increase dramatically because minorities are concentrated in populous states.

But does the National Committee matter all that much anyway? Yes, because since 1968, it has assumed broad managerial functions: raising money, conducting polls and providing important staff services. It sets a national example for the party; yet without major renovation, the Freedom Republicans argue, it "forfeits an opportunity to present a diverse, broadly based and hospitable image of the G.O.P."

The report says that the National Convention also reflects the same small-state, preponderantly white bias — a point argued for years by Josiah Lee Auspitz and other Republican moderates.

Once again, the main culprit is willful inattention to demographic reality. Each of Wyoming's 18 delegates to the 1984 National Convention, for example, represented 5,627 Republican voters. But each of New York's 136 delegates represented 25,000 voters. Wyoming Republicans thus carried more than four times the weight of their New York counterparts. The Freedom Republicans offer several remedies, including a familiar proposal to expand the number of delegates and allocate them according to the Republican Presidential vote in each state.

Despite the G.O.P.'s many contributions to equal rights, the report says, "many black Americans feel alienated from the party of Abraham Lincoln, William Lloyd Garrison and Frederick Douglass." With this in mind, the Freedom Republicans are mulling a preconvention legal challenge to the National Committee's structure. Failing that, they will almost certainly lodge a protest at the convention.

Wouldn't it make sense for Mr. Bush to move to the head of the parade?

NY Times 6/26/88 editorial

the Outer Banks of North Carolina. It is an area I visited with my parents but, at the time, I was not aware of how much the world changed in that one place and in those first moments of flight.

There is something important about an ordinary place that becomes an icon not by the touch of Disney, a place that remains mostly how it has always looked and becomes a part of a representative American story. I wanted especially to go back with his book to those misty dunes and see them more completely as an American living in the century when human beings took wing from the edge of my country.

We get the whole story of those Buckeye Wright brothers studying the national wind and weather charts to find the perfect place to ascend. They find Kitty Hawk. Zinsser writes, "This conjunction of two men and a place has been fixed in my imagination all my life, partly because of the very name of the place - Kitty Hawk! - is so perfect, so suggestive of flight. What happened there is one of the American stories I most enjoy thinking about."

We enter his thinking and come again to see the airplane, Kitty Hawk's "sacred icon," but also the sand, "its sacred soil." With Zinsser, I feel the wind I felt when I went to those banks, and I touch the sand. But now that place has its proper story, and I am a part of it, through my memory, this book, and my American citizenship.

It is a citizenship that I claim not in order to smother that which is personal, ambiguous, and incomplete; it is a patriotism that is, a growing "yes" to my own country, a "yes" that leaves room for any necessary "no."

It is a citizenship I claim with the likes of a Wilbur Wright, who wrote in the era of his life which is now mine, "For some years I have been afflicted with the belief that flight is possible to man. My 'disease' has increased in severity and I feel that it will soon cost me an increased amount of money if not my life. I have been trying to arrange my affairs in such a way that I can devote my entire time for a few months to experiment in this field."

He did. He flew and he landed safely, making that place the ground of his enacted imagination. And might that be exactly what this country is, for each of us when we lunch alone roaming imaginatively between "then" and "now," and for all of us as we look for places to vivify our belief in the "Great Experiment" of which we remain the inheritors and guardians? Might this be the land of enacted imaginations - past, present, and future? And might we Americans be only beginning to learn how to "fly," especially with one another?

'American Places'

Mount Rushmore

SO dominating were the four Presidents [at Mount Rushmore], each one an American original, that for a while I couldn't think about anyone else. But then I became aware of a fifth man tugging at my sleeve, demanding equal time. Gutzon Borglum was no less an American original. "Americans harbor a special love for the impossible task," says the opening sentence of an orientation film that shows Borglum's crew blasting the stone around the emerging Presidents. One shot in particular sticks in my mind. The original plan put Jefferson at Washington's left (as seen from below), and by 1933 the workers had roughly carved his hair, his eyes and his nose. At that point Borglum began to run out of good rock and also encountered a large crack in the granite. He simply dynamited the half-finished Jefferson into the gorge and started a new head on Washington's other side. That's not a man suffering from a failure of nerve. Jefferson never did fully cooperate. Because Borglum carved him as he looked at 33, when he wrote the Declaration of Independence, he appears younger and more feminine than the other Presidents, partly because of his wig. Many early visitors were disappointed. They said it wasn't a good likeness of Martha Washington.

Borglum was the son of an immigrant Dane, born in 1867 in Idaho, a product of the frontier in his view of America as a land of limitless opportunity. Like other aspiring artists of his generation, he went to Paris in the 1890s to study. There he met Auguste Rodin, who became his mentor. It was Rodin, apparently, who taught Borglum how to use light to animate the eyes and the sculptured head. At Mount Rushmore, what appears to be a pupil in the eyes of the Presidents is a protruding shaft of granite almost two feet long.

"In the afternoon, when the sunlight throws the shadows into that socket," one of the rangers, Fred Banks, told me, "you feel that the eyes of those four men are looking right at you, no matter where you move. They're peering right into your mind, wondering what you're thinking, making you feel guilty: 'Are you doing your part?'"

Appomattox

BUT through the stillness [at Appomattox] one theme kept booming in my ears: forgiveness and rebirth. "Grant and Lee had to look far into the future," [National Park Ranger] Ron Wilson said. "They knew that the energies that had been given to divisions for so many years would have to be devoted to rebuilding the country. Their meeting wasn't one of those peace conferences that plant the seeds of another war. There was no vindictiveness. The terms that Grant offered at Appomattox set the tone for the other three surrenders by Confederate units. They accepted exactly the same terms that Grant offered Lee."....

The village [of Appomattox Court House], I felt, existed in a cul-de-sac of history, above politics and almost outside time, as if it had been brought to life for just one event. Only three people were strongly alive to me there. Two of them, Lee and Grant, continued to radiate powerful qualities that Americans still value and honor: one symbolizing nobility and the aristocratic tradition of the old South, the other symbolizing the self-made common man of the new North, Midwest and West.

The third person was the inescapable Lincoln. The man would never get out of my life. Appomattox was, finally, his show. I could almost see him standing over the little table in the parlor of the McLean house, where Grant was scribbling the surrender terms. I knew that Lincoln had often spoken of wanting a merciful peace, but I didn't know whether he and Grant had found time to discuss it, and I asked Ron Wilson when the two men had last met. He said they had met on April 1 at City Point - on the "River Queen," in the James River - and had talked at length about the rapidly approaching end of the war and the civil disarray it was bound to bring.

"You just know," Wilson told me, "that Lincoln said, 'Let 'em down easy.'"

William Zinsser

■ Excerpted from "American Places: A Writer's Pilgrimage to 15 of This Country's Most Visited and Cherished Sites," by William Zinsser. HarperCollins Publishers, New York, 1989

All Nations Under God, Indivisible!

ALTHOUGH the world of nations seems divided on many fronts in its struggle for freedom and economic stability, if we look through the lens of history we see that progress is being made.

Men and women of many nations are courageously overthrowing some of the more blatant forms of tyranny. A great overturning is going on in mankind's concept of government. People are rejecting the blundering, despotic rule of the self-serving few for the larger concept of government by consent of the governed—government of and by and for the people. Freedom and democracy are welling up as a vital force that is really worth striving for!

As I've watched nations struggling into freedom, I've been impelled to pray in support of their efforts. Some Bible passages from Isaiah have comforted me. One passage points out, "The government shall be upon his shoulder." While another assures us that "the mountain of the Lord's house shall be established in the top of the mountains, and shall be exalted above the hills; and all nations shall flow unto it."

Certainly we can trust God, the Creator of all, to govern all peoples wisely. But we do need to recognize and seek His guidance. When we, as individuals and as nations, lift up the banner of this spiritual standard we are pledging our allegiance to the one God, one Mind. And as our nations are more and more fully governed by God, they come closer to the ideal of being nations "indivisible, with liberty and justice for all." And isn't increased liberty and justice what these times are all about—this restructuring of governments, this interwoven global rebuilding going on for the benefit of all mankind?

In *Science and Health with Key to the Scriptures* Mary Baker Eddy, the Discoverer and Founder of Christian Science, writes: "God is indivisible. A portion of God could not enter man; neither could God's fulness be reflected by a single man, else God would be manifestly finite, lose the deific character, and become less than God."

Doesn't this tell us that our leaders need to be standard-bearers who rely on God's leadership, on His governing power, to guide them? The God-directed man reflects God's wisdom in all the decisions he makes. And these are always choices that lead to greater unity for mankind.

Accepting this spiritually-based unity as God's promise for people and nations, I find it easier to feel God's presence and to have a confident certainty that He is guiding any outcome, whether here at home or elsewhere in the world.

In truth, God's spiritual, universal government is already established and is totally harmonious. When we turn to Him, we find the solutions we need. Lifting thought to the recognition that there is a Supreme Power can open the doors of our minds to new solutions. There can never be anything beyond the reach of God's power. Knowing this, calms anxiety and confusion, whether about candidates, policies, issues, or world upheavals. One God, indivisible, over all nations, will be, and from a more divine perspective is now, totally in control. The government is on His shoulder. And, as Christ Jesus tells us in Matthew's Gospel, "With God all things are possible."

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Undoing the drug-abusing society

Lincoln, FDR and Churchill were the 'echo men' of democracy

THE YEAR 1995 marked the 50th anniversary of FDR's death, the 30th of Winston Churchill's and the 130th since Lincoln's assassination.

Abraham Lincoln, Winston Churchill and Franklin Roosevelt are the three democratic giants of the 19th and 20th Centuries. Each was a successful wartime leader of a democratic nation and each articulated for both their constituency and for posterity the underlying principles for which their nations fought.

Apart from these factors, might there be other common threads running through their leadership?

One possible way to approach a comparative view of these modern leaders is to explore them in terms of how pre-modern societies viewed leadership. For example, the highland Mayans of Guatemala used three categories for adult males: the warrior, the community man and "the echo man."

Although the step from boy to warrior was fundamental and cele-



brated, the young warrior was not yet considered mature. At the next stage was the communitarian, who lived for community — caring for widows and orphans, using his earlier developed warrior disciplines to protect them, protecting the group with rituals, decisions and prayers; acting here, intervening there.

The ultimate stage of personal development was that of "the echo" — an individual who transcended a culturally defined role and learned to truly hear his people. This person became a leader in body and compassion and intuition. The focus of the echo man was less on action than on a philosophical understanding of the community's role in the world and the responsibility of the living to both their ancestral past and to future generations.

As a warrior, Lincoln had the least practical military experience of the three. But he was a fast learner and demonstrated astute appreciation of the role of the warrior in modern warfare. In much the same way, Roosevelt learned the importance of military policy and planning on his job during the Wilson administration. As president, he assembled a competent staff on which to rely during World War II.

FRANK J. WILLIAMS

Both Lincoln and FDR grew beyond their warrior stage, whereas Winston Churchill, who had far greater practical experience in military matters, was ultimately restricted by his inflated view of himself as strategist.

Lincoln, Roosevelt and Churchill represent modern versions of this Mayan ideal. Each became "the echo" of his era, earning a place in modern history. Perhaps the greatest difference between these three leaders and those in pre-modern societies is that modern leadership requires a greater degree of action than contemplation. Yet action alone is not enough.

Abraham Lincoln's leadership remains the touchstone echo. As James C. Davies long ago suggested, Lincoln's democratic example and American federalism are the two greatest gifts that our ambitious experiment in self-government have given the world. Though more conservative than Churchill in many ways, Lincoln differed in that he was able to expand democratic values while Churchill fundamentally was tied to preserving the British Empire.

It was the genius of Lincoln to understand the needs of everyone all the time. He comprehended the values of our Founders expressed in the Declaration of Independence — our "jewel of liberty" — and the inherent restraints required by the U.S. Constitution. Maneuvering among idealistic values while preserving the constitutional restraints imposed on him, Lincoln led the nation during a divisive civil war that ultimately assured greater human dignity for all.

Amazingly, Lincoln accomplished his enduring legacy in a third of the time that FDR spent as president and half the total years of the prime ministership of Winston Churchill. Lincoln's leadership is the modern epitome of classical magnanimity.

Similarly, FDR was able to adjust to an evolving world better than Churchill. FDR was willing to experiment, and retained his ability to listen to others, including his wife, Eleanor, his social conscience. Despite their inherent differences, Lincoln, FDR and Churchill remain fundamentally effective role models for democratic leaders.

By the time Germany attacked Britain in 1940, Winston Churchill had enjoyed ministerial office on and off for almost 50 years. He entered politics under Queen Victoria and returned as prime minister under Queen Elizabeth II, 55 years later. Churchill was elected to the House of Commons the year before President William McKinley was assassinated. In 1901, and was still sitting there in 1964, the year after President John F. Kennedy was assassinated.

Perhaps the reason that Churchill's leadership echo may resonate less vibrantly than Lincoln's or FDR's is that, without question, Churchill endured the most psychologically stressful upbringing of the trio. He was virtually ignored by his parents, who favored

his brother. Fortunately, as Lincoln found warmth from his stepmother, Churchill found support from his nanny. Both however, suffered bouts of depression for the rest of their lives as a result of their childhood psychological trauma.

Churchill's fight for psychological survival may explain his lack of sensitivity toward others. He was the life-long fighter.

In contrast, FDR was afforded the psychological luxury of a secure childhood that allowed him to focus concern on others. Similarly, Lincoln gained psychological security, despite tension with his father. But, also, he had to fight for survival on the frontier.

Gratitude in politics fails to endure. This truism is borne out by the 1864 and 1944 elections. FDR's reelection was much like Lincoln's in 1864. In both instances, Americans had to choose their leader during wartime. Both incumbents managed only



low pluralities. And in 1945, upon the eve of victory, Winston Churchill, "the savior of his country," was voted out of office.

A comparative study of these three democratic giants of the 19th and 20th Centuries helps to clarify — and confirm — the significance of each. It also suggests the difference between the ephemeral and eternal in political leadership. It calls to mind F.W. Maitland's rule: that events now long in the past were once in the future and we should interpret these events in terms of how people expected them to turn out, rather than how they did.

Judged by any standard, Lincoln, Roosevelt and Churchill were truly the giants of democratic leadership. Judged by the standards of the highland Mayans in which progressive ascendancy characterized personal development, Lincoln, FDR and — to a lesser extent — Churchill reached the ancient ideal of "the echo man," who can truly hear people and lead them toward higher democratic goals.

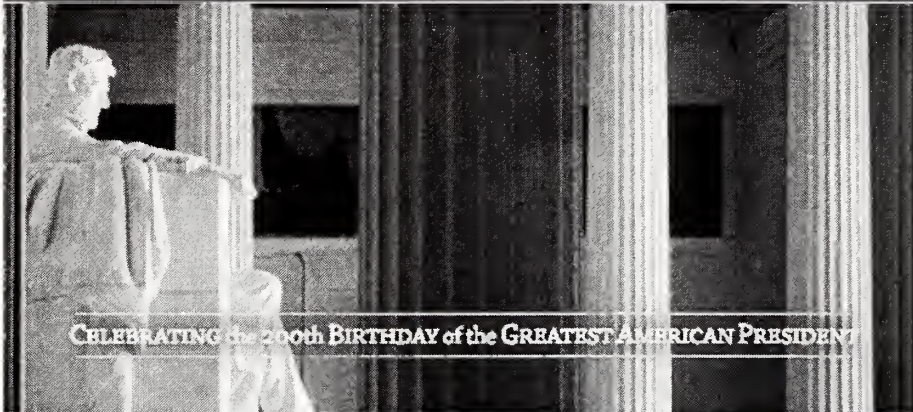
Frank J. Williams is an associate justice of the Rhode Island Superior Court and, for nine years, was president of the Abraham Lincoln Association. Lincoln was born Feb. 12, 1809.

VanHorn, Cindy

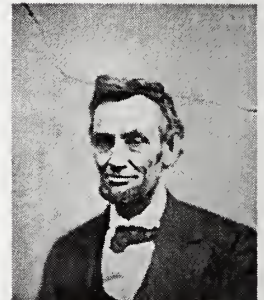
From: dear@loc.gov
Sent: Wednesday, November 22, 2006 2:58 PM
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Subject: Abraham Lincoln Bicentennial Commission News

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November 22, 2006

LINCOLN RANKED 'MOST INFLUENTIAL' IN AMERICAN HISTORY

SURVEY RATES ABRAHAM LINCOLN 'MOST INFLUENTIAL' IN AMERICAN HISTORY

WASHINGTON - Abraham Lincoln, the man who saved the Union, freed the slaves, and presided over America's second founding, is the most influential figure in American history, according to a new survey published this week.

The 16th president topped a list of the 100 most influential Americans in a survey conducted by The Atlantic Monthly magazine among respected historians. The list is published in the December 2006 edition of the magazine.

The three co-chairs of the Abraham Lincoln Bicentennial Commission hailed the survey results.

"It seems 'altogether fitting and proper,' to use Lincoln's own words, that on the eve of Thanksgiving, the national holiday he created for future generations, this survey should validate our 16th President's standing in American hearts and minds," said Lincoln scholar Harold Holzer. "As we continue working to plan a 21st century celebration worthy of the country's greatest 19th century figure, we remain proud and gratified that every survey of American citizens and American historians continue to rank Lincoln as first in our pantheon of heroes."

Senator Dick Durbin (D-IL), another of the Commission's co-chairs, echoed the sentiment.

"Generations of Americans have known and admired Abraham Lincoln. We recall his unwavering commitment to the American experiment in democracy and his refusal to allow the Union to fail, regardless of the odds against him," said Durbin. "For many, he stands head and shoulders above all the other Presidents put together and his example will live as long as the world lives."

Congressman Ray LaHood (R-IL) said that "without Abraham Lincoln's steadfast leadership through the dark days of the Civil War, the United States today would not be the greatest nation on earth. He completed the work begun by the Founding Fathers, and ensured that 'government of the people, by the people, for the people shall not perish from the earth.' He truly is the greatest president."

Also in the top 10, in descending order, were: George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, Franklin D. Roosevelt, Alexander Hamilton, Benjamin Franklin, John Marshall, Martin Luther King, Jr., Thomas Edison, and Woodrow Wilson.

Among the historians consulted was ALBC Advisory Committee member Doris Kearns Goodwin, who told the Reuters news service that she looked for people "who made it possible for people to lead expanded lives - materially, psychologically, culturally and spiritually."

LINCOLN RANKED 'MOST INFLUENTIAL' IN AMERICAN HISTORY

Page 2 of 2

The Abraham Lincoln Bicentennial Commission was established by Congress to plan educational, public, and legacy events to mark the 16th president's 200th birthday in 2009. Its members, who are appointed by the president and congressional leaders, include political leaders, jurists, historians, and collectors. The ALBC aims to renew Americans' appreciation of Lincoln's ideals of freedom, equality and opportunity, and to encourage all people to "live the legacy."

#



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THE AMERICAN

THE **Atlantic**

Who are the most influential figures in American history? The Atlantic recently asked ten eminent historians. The result was The Atlantic's Top 100—and some insight into the nature of influence and the contingency of history. Was Walt Disney really more influential than Elizabeth Cady Stanton? Benjamin Spock than Richard Nixon? Elvis Presley than Lewis and Clark? John D. Rockefeller than Bill Gates? Babe Ruth than Frank Lloyd Wright? Let the debates begin.

THEY MADE AMERICA

We invite you to join the debate—and to nominate influential figures who didn't make The Atlantic's Top 100 but should have—at www.theatlantic.com. The collective readers' Top 10 list will be published in our next issue.

It's a nebulous concept, influence:

you know it when you see it, but definitions are hard to come by. Still, when we talk about history in America, it's often to make arguments about influence, about the way the characters from our national past shape the virtues and flaws of our own era. ¶ Thus, depending

BY ROSS DOUTHAT

on whom you believe, George W. Bush is either the rightful heir to Harry Truman or the bastard child of Richard Nixon and Lyndon Baines Johnson. His critics are the successors of Walter Duranty and Jane Fonda, making apologies for tyrants—unless they're Edward R. Murrow and Eugene McCarthy, boldly speaking truth to power. Foreign-policy analysts talk of modern-day “Jacksonians” and “Wilsonians”; defenders and opponents of affirmative action alike invoke Martin Luther King Jr.; and everyone claims the Founders for their own—because the founding generation's influence, and example, is felt to matter most of all.

With these debates in mind, *The Atlantic* recently asked ten historians (see panelist biographies on page 76) to compose their own lists of the 100 most influential Americans. The balloting was averaged and weighted to emphasize consensus—candidates received extra points if they appeared on multiple ballots—and the result is the list of 100 names that accompanies this article. In the instructions we gave to our panelists, we intentionally defined *influence* loosely—as a person's impact, for good or ill, both on his or her own era and on the way we live now. This allowed for a certain creativity in the selection process, and it had the advantage of leaving the harder work of definition to the historians themselves.

The results are inevitably unscientific, since whittling down all the influential Americans of the last few centuries to just 100 names, let alone ranking them, is a difficult assignment. But the end product is rewarding and intriguing, offering instances of both consensus and contention, and a snapshot of our national memory early in the third American century. It doesn't settle the debate about influence and the American past, but it does offer a starting place for discussion.

Anyone trying to arrive at a historical ranking must wrestle with certain questions. Our panelist Walter McDougall, a professor at the University of Pennsylvania and the Pulitzer Prize-winning author of *The Heavens and the Earth: A Political History of the Space Age*, described five challenges that he and his fellow historians reckoned with in making their judgments for our list.

The definition of influence. What definition would allow us to rank Americans from different careers and walks of life—to compare the influence of a great novelist with the influence of a president, for instance, or the influence of a religious leader with that of an entrepreneur? Or again, what definition would allow for comparisons between present-day figures and the men and women of earlier generations? The influence of a nineteenth-century titan like John D. Rockefeller (who ended up No. 11 on our list) extends across a longer period of American history than the influence of a Bill Clinton; on the other hand, Clinton's *direct* impact on the way we live now is more immediately obvious than Rockefeller's. By what criteria does one choose between them?

The collaborative nature of achievement. Once you begin to weigh ideas against inventions, presidencies against companies, and present-day achievements against the past, another question arises: Who should get the credit? Do you cite Nathaniel Hawthorne for writing the first great American novel, or James Fenimore Cooper (83) for making the American novel possible? Who deserves credit for the Constitution, or the motion-picture industry, or the birth of jazz? "Harriet Beecher Stowe [41] was 'the little lady who wrote the book that caused the Great War,'" McDougall points out, "but only because abolitionists both white and black had been preaching the same gospel for decades." Even technical geniuses stood on the shoulders of giants: if Robert Fulton hadn't developed the first commercially successful steamboat, someone else would have; we might not have iPods without Steve Jobs, but we'd still have some pretty nice personal computers.

The power of pop culture. The simplest way to define influence would be to

use market indicators. Whom have Americans heard of, and whom do they esteem? What products do they buy, and what television shows do they watch? Such a list would "read like a Gallup Poll or Madison Avenue guide to consumer trends," McDougall says, with Michael Crichton outstripping Herman Melville (100), and Joel Osteen beating out Reinhold Niebuhr. But perhaps this is as it should be. "The America our forefathers brought forth on this continent is a *market*—a free market in power, goods and services, entertainment, and spirituality," McDougall points out. "By definition, it would seem [that] the ultimate measure of influence is simply what sells."

The problem of value judgments. This is the "Adolf Hitler problem": How do you assess the influence of men and women who have changed the world for the worse? In America, call it the "Hugh Hefner problem": Does a man who has spent a lifetime lounging around in a bathrobe, getting rich off the objectification of women, really deserve a place in anyone's Top 100? On the other hand, if you're looking for the journalistic giants of the last century, doesn't Hef deserve a place alongside a Henry Luce or an H. L. Mencken? And if you open the door for the man who gave us porn-on-demand, does a parade of demagogues come trooping in after him? George Wallace, Huey Long, Joseph McCarthy, J. Edgar Hoover—"We might find that half our list is a rogues' gallery," McDougall suggests.

The question of identity politics. America may be a melting pot, but influence often fails to extend beyond the barrio's edge, or the synagogue door. "Must the leaders of every ethnic or religious minority be honored," McDougall wonders, "even though they had little or no influence on the nation at large?" How broadly influential were Joseph Smith (52) or Brigham Young (74), really, given that Mormons currently account for less than 2 percent of the American population? Does César Chávez deserve extra consideration for looming so large among Hispanics? Does a gay-rights pioneer like Harvey Milk deserve consideration, for similar reasons?

Each panelist found a different response to these challenges. For Ellen

THE TOP 100



1 ABRAHAM LINCOLN
He saved the Union, freed the slaves, and presided over America's second founding.

2 GEORGE WASHINGTON
He made the United States possible—not only by defeating a king, but by declining to become one himself.

3 THOMAS JEFFERSON
The author of the five most important words in American history: "All men are created equal."



4 FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT
He said, "The only thing we have to fear is fear itself," and then he proved it.

5 ALEXANDER HAMILTON
Soldier, banker, and political scientist, he set in motion an agrarian nation's transformation into an industrial power.

6 BENJAMIN FRANKLIN
The Founder-of-all-trades—scientist, printer, writer, diplomat, inventor, and more; like his country, he contained multitudes.

7 JOHN MARSHALL
The defining chief justice, he established the Supreme Court as the equal of the other two federal branches.



8 MARTIN LUTHER KING JR.
His dream of racial equality is still elusive, but no one did more to make it real.

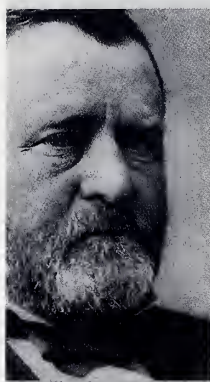
9 THOMAS EDISON
It wasn't just the lightbulb; the Wizard of Menlo Park was the most prolific inventor in American history.

10 WOODROW WILSON
He made the world safe for U.S. interventionism, if not for democracy.



List continues on pages 62–78

11 JOHN D. ROCKEFELLER
The man behind Standard Oil set the mold for our tycoons—first by making money, then by giving it away.



12 ULYSSES S. GRANT
He was a poor president, but he was the general Lincoln needed; he also wrote the greatest political memoir in American history.

13 JAMES MADISON
He fathered the Constitution and wrote the Bill of Rights.

14 HENRY FORD
He gave us the assembly line and the Model T, and sparked America's love affair with the automobile.



15 THEODORE ROOSEVELT
Whether busting trusts or building canals, he embodied the "strenuous life" and blazed a trail for twentieth-century America.



16 MARK TWAIN
Author of our national epic, he was the most unsentimental observer of our national life.

17 RONALD REAGAN
The amiable architect of both the conservative realignment and the Cold War's end.



18 ANDREW JACKSON
The first great populist: he found America a republic and left it a democracy.

19 THOMAS PAINE
The voice of the American Revolution, and our first great radical.

20 ANDREW CARNEGIE
The original self-made man forged America's industrial might and became one of the nation's greatest philanthropists.

Fitzpatrick, a professor at the University of New Hampshire and the author of *History's Memory: Writing America's Past, 1880–1980*, the central questions were whether a person's influence was at once "long-term" and "fundamental." So the Founders, for instance, deserve a high place because "without their vision of American democracy, not much else would have happened as it did." But a figure like Bill Gates (54), however significant, loses out in Fitzpatrick's estimation to the computer scientist John von Neumann, because "it was von Neumann's research that helped make computing possible," and so his contribution to the computer was more "fundamental" than Gates's work. (Fitzpatrick was outvoted on von Neumann, who failed to make the Top 100.)

Walter McDougall adopted a policy of giving weight to individuals involved with the federal government, "because they shaped the laws and institutions under which *all* Americans live"; to "the

"originals"—that is, "people who laid the foundations for enduring institutions or cultural practices or ways of thinking."

For Doris Kearns Goodwin, who won a Pulitzer Prize for *No Ordinary Time: Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt: The Home Front in World War II*, the important question was, "Which figures changed the daily lives of people, both at that time and afterward?" She looked, in particular, for "great public figures who made it possible for people to lead expanded lives—materially, psychologically, culturally, spiritually."

Brown University professor Gordon S. Wood, the Pulitzer Prize-winning author of *The Radicalism of the American Revolution*, tried to pay attention to "peculiar personalities," like Abraham Lincoln (1) and George Washington (2), who were "ideally suited for the moment" in which they wielded influence. But he also looked for what he termed "stand-ins"—figures like Duke Ellington and Louis Armstrong (79), who could embody a

A political career (or a legal one) is the surest ticket to a historical legacy. But inventing things, discovering things, or founding a religion can also work.

leaders in business and technology who fashioned the material environment of *all* Americans"; and to "the leaders in religion and education who influenced what most Americans believe and know, especially about their own country." He "omitted ethnic leaders who, while honored ... influenced only a modest percentage of Americans," and he "eliminated celebrities altogether on the grounds that their influence is shallow, ephemeral, and replaceable."

David M. Kennedy, a Stanford professor and the Pulitzer Prize-winning author of *Freedom From Fear: The American People in Depression and War, 1929–1945*, made a similar calculation. "Most 'athletes, icons, and celebrities' don't make my list," he wrote, because entertainment is "highly evanescent" and most entertainers tend to "leave no lasting legacy." What he looked for instead were

hugely collaborative industry, art form, or cultural change, and "represent a dozen or a half-dozen people."

H. W. Brands, a professor at the University of Texas and the author of *The Money Men: Capitalism, Democracy, and the Hundred Years' War Over the American Dollar*, took a similar tack, choosing some people based on "what they represent"—Nat Turner (93) for the "specter of slave rebellion," for instance, or Sam Goldwyn (95) because "Hollywood had to be represented." He also noted that a bias toward political figures is inevitable. "Political figures," he said, "are important precisely because they influence the lives of everybody."

On the other hand, Robert Dallek—though he's a presidential historian and the author, most recently, of *An Unfinished Life: John F. Kennedy, 1917–1963*—tried to privilege commerce and

invention. "When people look back on this society, they will attach greater importance to science, technology, and business achievements than to our politics, or our arts and literature." He also gave special weight to the power of ideas, which form an "undercurrent" in American life—until suddenly, as with the civil-rights movement, a sense emerges that "this is an idea whose time has come."

Mark Noll, a professor at the University of Notre Dame and the author of *America's God: From Jonathan Edwards to Abraham Lincoln*, shared Brands's expectation that politics would dominate the final list, but suggested that this was a reflection of how history has been taught—"as a political narrative or as a reaction against the political narrative." He contended there is "little room for religion" in either of these narratives—even though religious organizations "have been the main glue in American society since before there was a United States." His own list drove that point home, by including little-remembered but hugely influential figures like the nineteenth-century revivalist Charles Grandison Finney, or the itinerant Methodist bishop Francis Asbury.

Similarly, panelist John Steele Gordon, the author of *An Empire of Wealth: The Epic History of American Economic Power*, distinguished between fame and influence, citing as an example the distinction between Jerome Kern and Irving Berlin. "Both were very famous," he argued, "but only Kern changed Broadway forever."

Like many of her fellow panelists, Joyce Appleby, a professor emerita at UCLA, showed a strong bias toward the Founders—those "rather remarkable men making decisions whose impact has been tremendously positive." But she declined to propose any broader system for gauging influence. "I *reflected*," she said of her choices. "But it was more of an intuitive and ineffable process."

So what do the panelists' reflections tell us about influence in America? First that although the top third of the list, roughly speaking, embodies a strong consensus—every panelist voted for the first nine figures; everyone in the top thirty received at least seven votes—

AN EXPERT'S OPINION

INFLUENTIAL ARCHITECTS

BY MICHAEL J. LEWIS

ANDREW JACKSON DOWNING (1815–1852)

Anyone who has grown up in a suburban house, visited a cul-de-sac lined with ranch houses, or driven through Levittown has been touched by A. J. Downing. He was the creator of the American suburb—not its forms alone, but its philosophy. His illustrated pattern books, especially *The Architecture of Country Houses* (1850), created our modern image of the suburb: strongly individualized houses sitting on winding streets, picturesquely integrated with nature. At the core of Downing's thought was a moral understanding of suburban life, and he should not be blamed for the McMansions that parody his precepts.

DANIEL H. BURNHAM (1846–1912)

"Make no little plans," urged Burnham, who heeded his own advice in his master plans for Chicago and for the National Mall in Washington, D.C. Although he built such jewels as Washington's Union Station, his achievement is not really aesthetic. He brought to architecture, for better or worse, the values of the American business tycoon: boldness of vision, ferocious executive energy, and an itch to do things at the largest possible scale. His influence, though, has been mixed: the movement that began by creating America's loveliest public spaces, such as Chicago's grand Civic Center plaza, ended in the megalomania of postwar urban renewal—and the lofty, tragic hubris of Chicago's notorious Cabrini-Green.

MORRIS LAPIDUS (1902–2001)

To understand American drinking habits, one does not look at Beaujolais sales but at Coke. Likewise, in seeking to understand American architecture, one does not look to such boutique designers as Frank Gehry or Robert Venturi but to the authors of our modern vernacular and its apartment houses and casinos, its highway mini-malls and kidney-shaped swimming pools. Here the most influential designer by far was Lapidus, the instigator of the great tacky hotels of South Florida, whose turquoise-tiled lobbies and giddy squiggles created the visual landscape of the



Frank Lloyd Wright's Fallingwater

postwar world, finding wit, humor, and even a kind of dignity in bad taste.

FRANK LLOYD WRIGHT (1867–1959)

Before Wright, an American building was a platitude: a form plucked from Europe's history, adapted to American climate, materials, and social structure, and proclaiming good taste. Wright removed the historical costume to let the indigenous factors themselves create the design directly and frankly. The result was the Prairie Style, his characteristically horizontal houses with their open plans and flowing space. Wright remains America's greatest modernist, with his stubborn individualism and his insight that a building can be as objective as a suspension bridge and at the same time as intensely personal as a Whitman poem.

HOWARD ROARK (1943–)

It may seem odd to list a fictional character, yet the hero of Ayn Rand's *The Fountainhead* profoundly influenced American architecture by changing the public image of the architect. Before Roark, the architect was considered a mere service provider, a rather bookish sort who knew about cathedrals and dry rot. Roark, by contrast, was a levathan of ego and will, his creativity deriving from his existential confrontation with the universe. In him was born the debased architectural culture of today, a wasteland of celebrities each cultivating his own distinctive signature style; whatever Roark's literary legacy, his architectural one has been an unmitigated disaster.

Michael J. Lewis is a professor at Williams College and the author of *American Art and Architecture*.



21 HARRY TRUMAN

An accidental president, this machine politician ushered in the Atomic Age and then the Cold War.

22 WALT WHITMAN

He sang of America and shaped the country's conception of itself.

23 WRIGHT BROTHERS

They got us all off the ground.



24 ALEXANDER GRAHAM BELL

By inventing the telephone, he opened the age of telecommunications and shrank the world.

25 JOHN ADAMS

His leadership made the American Revolution possible; his devotion to republicanism made it succeed.

26 WALT DISNEY

The quintessential entertainer-entrepreneur, he wielded unmatched influence over our childhood.

27 ELI WHITNEY

His gin made cotton king and sustained an empire for slavery.



28 DWIGHT EISENHOWER

He won a war and two elections, and made everybody like Ike.

29 EARL WARREN

His Supreme Court transformed American society and bequeathed to us the culture wars.



30 ELIZABETH CADY STANTON

One of the first great American feminists, she fought for social reform and women's right to vote.

31 HENRY CLAY

One of America's greatest legislators and orators, he forged compromises that held off civil war for decades.

32 ALBERT EINSTEIN

His greatest scientific work was done in Europe, but his humanity earned him undying fame in America.



33 RALPH WALDO EMERSON

The bard of individualism, he relied on himself—and told us all to do the same.

34 JONAS SALK

His vaccine for polio eradicated one of the world's worst plagues.



35 JACKIE ROBINSON

He broke baseball's color barrier and embodied integration's promise.

36 WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN

"The Great Commoner" lost three presidential elections, but his populism transformed the country.

37 J. P. MORGAN

The great financier and banker was the prototype for all the Wall Street barons who followed.

38 SUSAN B. ANTHONY

She was the country's most eloquent voice for women's equality under the law.



39 RACHEL CARSON

The author of *Silent Spring* was godmother to the environmental movement.

40 JOHN DEWEY

He sought to make the public school a training ground for democratic life.

41 HARRIET BEECHER STOWE

Her *Uncle Tom's Cabin* inspired a generation of abolitionists and set the stage for civil war.



42 ELEANOR ROOSEVELT

She used the first lady's office and the mass media to become "first lady of the world."

agreement is hard to come by. Many figures who made the final cut did so with only marginally more support than those who missed it.

Still, certain patterns are evident. The list tells us, for instance, that though we may be a nation of immigrants, it's the native-born who are likely to shake things up the most: just seven of the final 100 were born outside the continental United States. It tells us that the East Coast states have made the most of their head start: sixty-three of the 100 were born in the original thirteen colonies, and twenty-six in New England alone. It tells would-be influentials not to be afraid of family commitments: ninety-one of the 100 were married at least once, and two—Joseph Smith and Brigham Young—had more than fifty wives between them. The list also suggests that contemporaries are sometimes good judges of whose influence will last: nine of *Time* magazine's "People of the Year" show up on the historians' list.

A political career (or a legal one) is the surest ticket to a historical legacy (twenty-six of the 100 held a judgeship or high political office). Aspiring influentials might also consider trying to invent something (like the lightbulb, or the airplane, or the atomic bomb), or discover something (the polio vaccine, the double helix)—though Gordon S. Wood remarked, after the list was finished, "We put too much emphasis on inventors. Someone sooner or later would have come up with the cotton gin ... the lure of profits was too great. The same was true with the airplane and the telephone."

Founding a religion landed Joseph Smith and Brigham Young on the list, as well as Christian Science's Mary Baker Eddy (86). Fomenting a revolution also leaves an impression, whether you succeed, as the Founders did, or fail, but with long-lasting repercussions, as Nat Turner and John Brown (78) did. And we at *The Atlantic* were pleased to see that twenty-one of the figures in the Top 100 are especially famous for their writing, from Walt Whitman (22) to Margaret Mead (81)—and that more than thirty (!) of the figures on the list have been published in this magazine.

The final 100 also suggests that men still rule, at least in many historians'

eyes—oh, and make that white men. Ten women are on the list (the highest-ranked is the feminist pioneer Elizabeth Cady Stanton, at No. 30), and eight African Americans, but the Top 100 is heavily WASPish. Martin Luther King Jr. (8) was among the top vote getters, but there isn't another African American on the list until Jackie Robinson (35). And there are no Hispanics, Asian Americans, or Native Americans.

"It's fun and challenging," Ellen Fitzpatrick said of the exercise, but she called the rank order "an exercise in absurdity." Noting that Walt Disney (26) finished ahead of Stanton in the balloting, she wondered: "Does a cartoonist deserve a place above someone who most powerfully advanced the case that half the people deserved equality before the law?" Or again, "Are we to conclude that not a single Native American Indian influenced our past?"

If women and minorities are conspicuously absent, what about knaves? With only two votes, Cold War bogeyman Joseph McCarthy didn't make the Top 100, nor did minor demagogues like Huey Long and Charles Coughlin. (Nor Hugh Hefner, though Walter McDougall voted for him.) But the much-reviled Richard Nixon (99) is in the Top 100, as is the pro-slavery legislator John C. Calhoun (58).

In a sense, perhaps, the final list is a testament to the absence of true villains from the American past—or at least figures that everyone can agree were villainous. For every conservative who damns Earl Warren (29) or Betty Friedan (77), there's a liberal springing to the defense. The same is true, with the cheers and boos reversed, for Ronald Reagan (17) or Wal-Mart's Sam Walton (72).

Our historians seem to have made a definite judgment, however, against pop culture, and popular taste in general. The list contains seven novelists but only three musicians, Elvis Presley (66), Louis Armstrong (79), and the songwriter Stephen Foster (97), and two athletes, Jackie Robinson and George Herman "Babe" Ruth (75). There's one Hollywood mogul (Sam Goldwyn), but no directors or actors (save, of course, Reagan). And of the many novelists,

AN EXPERT'S OPINION

INFLUENTIAL FILMMAKERS

BY DAVID THOMSON

D. W. GRIFFITH (1875–1948)

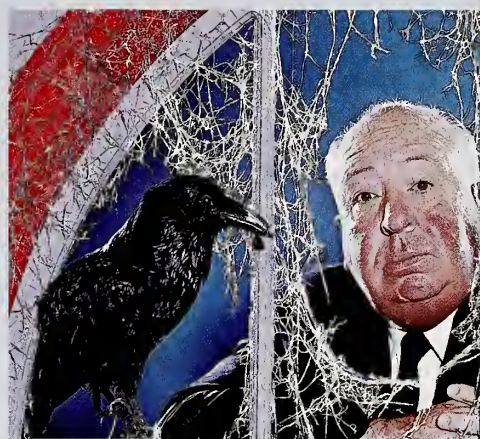
Griffith took glimpses and made schemes. He saw that suspense was our reason for watching. His objects of suspense were archaic, trite, and worse (virginity, piety, the South's nobility), but a business was born with 1915's *Birth of a Nation*—along with every warning that the industry might be scurrilous, dangerous, and the province of rascals. President Wilson called the movie "history written in lightning"—so pretentious film criticism was under way, too. Despite attendant geniuses (the Gish sisters, the cameraman Billy Bitzer), Griffith's movies are hard to watch now. His world of film was perishable—everything goes off fast. He made people sit for three hours, and come back for more. It was the essential principle of American life: keep the public still.

ORSON WELLES (1915–1985)

Welles believed in being a great man. Therefore if he did films, filmmaking must be a great medium and art—an Art. He went to Hollywood to defy law and order—to make a film his way, in defiance of accepted customs and manners; or better still, to make it about himself. So Charles Foster Kane is less William Randolph Hearst than George Orson Welles. The director fought with the studio system, disdained money, preferred unfettered ego, and demonstrated the great danger of such an artistic soul. Also, his life suggested that charm is a very dangerous thing, and enough to ruin America. The final irony: despite an overwhelming weight of self-delight (and his eventually overwhelming weight), Welles was a real genius. There but for the grace of God goes God.

HOWARD HAWKS (1896–1977)

Hawks said it's easy, cool, dreamy—you just make elegant fantasies for the folks. For two hours they live in a dream, but the dream is hard-boiled, wisecracking, tough. Hard and soft—you have it both ways. How easy? He could do comedy, Westerns, musicals, screwball, film noir, war. What do you need? Edgy guys and fresh dames: Wayne, Grant, Bogey, Cooper, Cagney, with Bacall, Dickinson, Lombard, Hepburn, Hayworth. The



Alfred Hitchcock

rules: never cry, never sweat, never get an Oscar, never go stale. Hawks is still so fresh, you can't keep up.


ALFRED HITCHCOCK (1899–1980)

Alfred Hitchcock combined Griffith's suspense with Hawks's fantasy, and found voyeurism (we watch, can't help it, but we feel guilty). His plan: put the audience through it. Make suspense so acute—so storyboarded, so camera angled, so full of piercing sounds—that we're jumping out of our seats. He began with crime stories (which character is guilty?), then moved on to parables (is the audience guilty?). He made films in his head before shooting, thus stressing the power of the director. Beloved by the French, the auteur theorists, and all would-be tyrants, Hitchcock eventually edged over into horror—see the move from *Vertigo* to *Psycho*—and introduced the challenge that led to film's decline: Can you keep your eyes open if I show you *this*?

ANDY WARHOL (1928–1987)

Warhol made the great deadpan eye-ronic thought bubble of the '60s—just in time to ruin film theory and film crit, but not soon enough to slow film's march into academia. Film is stupid. Anyone can do it. Turn the camera on and go to lunch. Find depraved versions of beautiful people. Have them take clothes off and improvise. Call them stars. He screwed the camera back to the floor—as in the 1900s—and took no interest in the result, but called it "A film by Andy Warhol." His basic rules: if the exposure came out OK, they will watch; if they are arguing over what it means, it's a movie.

David Thomson is the author of *The New Biographical Dictionary of Film*. His most recent book is *Nicole Kidman* (Knopf).



Like an astronaut counting down to launch.
A racehorse stomping at the gate.
An archer's arrow trembling just before release.
My dream is to unleash my potential.
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43 W. E. B. DuBOIS

One of America's great intellectuals, he made the "problem of the color line" his life's work.

44 LYNDON BAINES JOHNSON

His brilliance gave us civil-rights laws; his stubbornness gave us Vietnam.

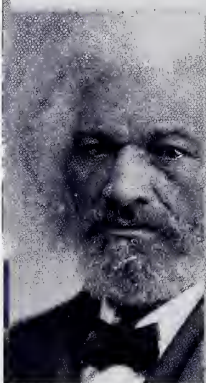
45 SAMUEL F. B. MORSE

Before the Internet, there was Morse code.



46 WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON

Through his newspaper, *The Liberator*, he became the voice of abolition.



47 FREDERICK DOUGLASS

After escaping from slavery, he pricked the nation's conscience with an eloquent accounting of its crimes.

48 ROBERT OPPENHEIMER

The father of the atomic bomb and the regretful midwife of the nuclear era.

49 FREDERICK LAW OLMTED

The genius behind New York's Central Park, he inspired the greening of America's cities.

50 JAMES K. POLK

This one-term president's Mexican War landgrab gave us California, Texas, and the Southwest.

51 MARGARET SANGER

The ardent champion of birth control—and of the sexual freedom that came with it.



52 JOSEPH SMITH

The founder of Mormonism, America's most famous homegrown faith.



53 OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES JR.

Known as "The Great Dissenter," he wrote Supreme Court opinions that continue to shape American jurisprudence.

TOP LIVING INFLUENTIALS

Living Americans who received votes from panelists

1. **Bill Gates** (No. 54 on the Top 100)

2. **James D. Watson** (No. 68)

3. **Ralph Nader** (No. 96)

4. **Bob Dylan**

5. **Steve Jobs**

6. **Steven Spielberg**

7. **William F. Buckley Jr.**

8. **Muhammad Ali**

9. **Sandra Day O'Connor**

10. **Oprah Winfrey**

11. **Billy Graham**

12. **George Lucas**

13. **Norman Borlaug** (founder of the "Green Revolution")

14. **Michael Jordan**

15. **Shirley Temple**

16. **Walter Cronkite**

17. **Gloria Steinem**

18. **Phyllis Schlafly**

19. **Norman Mailer**

20. **Sid Caesar** (the soul of Borscht Belt comedy)

21–24. **Vinton Cerf, Robert E. Kahn, Leonard Kleinrock, Lawrence Roberts** (the four "fathers of the Internet")

25. **Helen Gurley Brown** (legendary editor of *Cosmopolitan* magazine; author of *Sex and the Single Girl*)

26. **Stan Lee** (founder of Marvel Comics; inventor of Spider-Man, the Incredible Hulk, the Fantastic Four, and other superheroes)

26. **Bill Cosby** (tied)

28. **Henry Kissinger**

28. **Chuck Berry** (tied)

28. **Bill Clinton** (tied)

31. **Martha Stewart**

31. **Clint Eastwood** (tied)

33. **Tiger Woods**

33. **Hugh Hefner** (tied)

journalists, and essayists, two of them (James Fenimore Cooper and Harriet Beecher Stowe) are true museum pieces, while many of the rest—Ralph Waldo Emerson (33) and Henry David Thoreau (65), William Faulkner (60) and William James (62)—wrote strictly highbrow fare. (On the other hand, as Gordon S. Wood points out, no historians made the list—leading him to remark, "I guess we don't think what we do is very influential.")

What about collaboration? Apart from joined-at-the-hip pairs like the Wright Brothers (23) and Lewis and Clark (70), the panelists found no obvious way to recognize collaborative influences. This may help explain why no woman ended up closer to the top of the ranking—because some panelists put Susan B. Anthony (38) higher and others Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and there was no way to rate the cumulative effect of the great feminists' efforts.

Still, famous collaborations show up on the final list, if you know where to

look. As noted above, present-at-the-creation Mormons Joseph Smith and Brigham Young both make an appearance; so do atomic-bomb coworkers Albert Einstein (32), Robert Oppenheimer (48), and Enrico Fermi (88). Likewise the collaborators behind America's founding—George Washington, Thomas Jefferson (3), Benjamin Franklin (6), John Marshall (7), James Madison (13), and John Adams (25)—all appear near the top. They are joined by Thomas Paine (19), the prophet of the American Revolution. (H.W. Brands dissented on this one: "Paine articulated something that was in the air," he allowed, but the Revolution "was going to happen anyway.")

The list is heavily weighted toward the not-so-recent past. Only three living Americans—Bill Gates, Ralph Nader (96), and James D. Watson (68), a codiscoverer of the double helix—made the list, and of the Top 100, sixty-seven died before 1950. The only significant

figures from the post-'60s era to crack the top twenty were Nader and Reagan, and in general the list reflects what David M. Kennedy calls an instinctive caution about "canonizing anyone who's among the quick," or recently deceased. "It's hard to judge the present," John Steele Gordon points out. "We aren't able to say who *will* be influential." And Robert Dallek notes that even Reagan, seemingly as sure a bet as recent history offers, may not loom so large in fifty years, once all of his administration's records have been opened to historians.

So if this exercise were to be carried out again in half a century, presumably it would show a stronger consensus about what mattered in our own era and what didn't. This might mean a place for Sandra Day O'Connor and Hillary Clinton, for instance, or even Oprah Winfrey and Martha Stewart, both of whom received votes. ("One would hope that a hundred years from now there will be more women at the top than there are now, looking back," Doris Kearns Goodwin said.) Bob Dylan, who fell just short of the Top 100 in this balloting, might slip in; so might Steve Jobs, once the impact of the Internet age extends over half a century.

The panelists *did* vote for many twentieth-century figures—as well as many athletes and jazz musicians, visual artists and religious innovators. All told, the ten historians suggested 322 influentials; there just wasn't as much consensus on the recent and nonpolitical choices as there was on Gilded Age industrialists and Founding Fathers. But for every vote cast for a mutton-chopped Victorian, at least one went to Stan Lee or Marilyn Monroe, B. F. Skinner or Tiger Woods. Which is why the most interesting part of the voting may be the fascinating figures lurking in the lower reaches of the balloting.

Take America's religious leaders—represented on the list by Joseph Smith and Brigham Young, Mary Baker Eddy, Jonathan Edwards (90), and the Presbyterian clergyman Lyman Beecher (91), as well as a number of ministers best known for their efforts at political reform, such as Martin Luther King Jr. and the abolitionist William

AN EXPERT'S OPINION

INFLUENTIAL MUSICIANS

BY TERRY TEACHOUT

LOUIS ARMSTRONG (1901–1971)
"Satchmo" (as he loved to be called) didn't invent jazz, but it might have sounded unimaginably different without him. The bastard son of a sometime prostitute, Armstrong learned to play cornet in a New Orleans home for "colored waifs." Having mastered the ensemble style of early jazz, he reshaped it in his own expansive image, shifting the emphasis from group improvisation to the virtuoso solo. No less significant were his genial, gravel-voiced vocals, which laid the foundation for all subsequent pop singing. Bing Crosby called him "the beginning and end of music in America."

GEORGE GERSHWIN (1898–1937)
Of all the inspired artists who created what is now called the Great American Songbook, it was Gershwin who did the most to infuse it with the quintessentially American sounds of ragtime and jazz. Working in tandem with his brother and lyricist Ira, he galvanized Broadway (and, later, Hollywood) with soon-to-be-standards like "I Got Rhythm" and "Someone to Watch Over Me." At the same time, he produced a series of pop-flavored concert works, starting with *Rhapsody in Blue*, in which he pioneered the crossover genre, and in *Porgy and Bess* he tore down the wall that had separated opera from musical comedy.

AARON COPLAND (1900–1990)
Before Copland came along, American classical musicians were struggling to forge their own distinctive stylistic identity. Attracted by the spare lucidity of Igor Stravinsky's neoclassicism, the open-eared experimental approach of Charles Ives, and the off-center rhythms of jazz, Copland turned his back on nineteenth-century European Romanticism and replaced it with a spaciouly lyrical, rhythmically vital style that at once evoked the hum and buzz of urban life and the wide-open expanses of the prairie. In such ballet scores as *Billy the Kid*, *Rodeo*, and *Appalachian Spring*, he all but single-handedly invented the sound of modern American classical music.



Bob Dylan

ELVIS PRESLEY (1935–1977)
By fusing black rhythm and blues with white country (his first single had an R&B song on one side and a bluegrass tune on the other), Presley became the central figure in the great transformation that replaced Gershwin-style pop songs with rock and roll as the lingua franca of American popular music. Though he degenerated over time into the drug-sodden, chronically obese "fat Elvis" of countless cruel jokes, his sex-charged TV appearances and films of the '50s made him the No. 1 teen idol of the buttoned-down Eisenhower era, and he set a benchmark for renown that today's rock stars still strive to surpass.

BOB DYLAN (1941–)
American folk music was enjoying a short-lived spurt of popularity in the early 1960s when Dylan first emerged as a top protest singer with "Blowin' in the Wind" and "The Times They Are A-Changin'." Then he stunned his contemporaries by unexpectedly retrofitting himself as a hard-charging electric rocker whose lyrics were complex and ambiguous to a degree previously unknown in American popular song. Nor was this the only stylistic rabbit Dylan pulled out of his hat: he later embraced country music on his albums *John Wesley Harding* and *Nashville Skyline*. No one has done more to define the place of the singer-songwriter in contemporary pop.

Terry Teachout, the drama critic of The Wall Street Journal and the music critic of Commentary, is writing Hotter Than That: A Life of Louis Armstrong.



54 BILL GATES
The Rockefeller of the Information Age, in business and philanthropy alike.

55 JOHN QUINCY ADAMS
The Monroe Doctrine's real author, he set nineteenth-century America's diplomatic course.

56 HORACE MANN
His tireless advocacy of universal public schooling earned him the title "The Father of American Education."



57 ROBERT E. LEE
He was a gaod general but a better symbol, embodying conciliation in defeat.

58 JOHN C. CALHOUN
The voice of the antebellum South, he was slavery's most ardent defender.

59 LOUIS SULLIVAN
The father of architectural modernism, he shaped the defining American building: the skyscraper.

60 WILLIAM FAULKNER
The most gifted chronicler of America's tormented and fascinating South.

61 SAMUEL GOMPERS
The country's greatest labor organizer, he made the golden age of unions possible.



62 WILLIAM JAMES
The mind behind Pragmatism, America's most important philosophical school.



63 GEORGE MARSHALL
As a general, he organized the American effort in World War II; as a statesman, he rebuilt Western Europe.

64 JANE ADDAMS
The founder of Hull House, she became the secular saint of social work.

65 HENRY DAVID THOREAU
The original American dropout, he has inspired seekers of authenticity for 150 years.

66 ELVIS PRESLEY
The king of rock and roll. Enough said.

67 P. T. BARNUM
The circus impresario's taste for spectacle paved the way for blockbuster movies and reality TV.



68 JAMES D. WATSON
He codiscovered DNA's double helix, revealing the code of life to scientists and entrepreneurs alike.



69 JAMES GORDON BENNETT
As the founding publisher of *The New York Herald*, he invented the modern American newspaper.

70 LEWIS AND CLARK
They went west to explore, and millions followed in their wake.

71 NOAH WEBSTER
He didn't create American English, but his dictionary defined it.

72 SAM WALTON
He promised us "Every Day Low Prices," and we took him up on the offer.

73 CYRUS McCORMICK
His mechanical reaper spelled the end of traditional farming, and the beginning of industrial agriculture.



74 BRIGHAM YOUNG
What Joseph Smith founded, Young preserved, leading the Mormons to their promised land.

75 GEORGE HERMAN "BABE" RUTH
He saved the national pastime in the wake of the Black Sox scandal—and permanently linked sports and celebrity.

76 FRANK LLOYD WRIGHT
America's most significant architect, he was the archetype of the visionary artist at odds with capitalism.



Lloyd Garrison (46). Worthies all, but you have to look farther down the winners' list to find the people who actually built the churches where most of today's Americans worship. Several Jews are in the Top 100, but the only rabbi to receive votes was Solomon Schechter, the architect of Conservative Judaism. The only Top 100 Catholics are George Herman "Babe" Ruth, Louis Armstrong, and James Gordon Bennett (69), the great nineteenth-century newspaperman; two panelists, however, suggested John Carroll, the nation's first Catholic bishop. There were also two votes for Fulton Sheen, another Catholic bishop, whose 1950s media ministry, as Mark Noll put it, "certified Roman Catholicism as a benign religious, political, and cultural influence" (and made him a trailblazer for today's rather-less-elloquent crop of televangelists).

Also falling short of the Top 100 were the architects of American evangelicalism, the most successful species of Protestantism in this largely Protestant nation. Two panelists listed Francis Asbury, the eighteenth-century Methodist bishop whose indefatigable missionary efforts created a model of entrepreneurial religion that successful evangelical pastors have followed ever since. The aptly named Evangeline Booth, the first female "general" of the Salvation Army, received one vote, as did Dwight L. Moody, arguably the nineteenth century's most famous evangelist; two votes went to Billy Graham, the twentieth-century heir to that title.

Another Noll pick, William Seymour, is perhaps more obscure than the other religious figures in the Top 100, but in the long run may prove more influential than any of them. The son of freed slaves, Seymour in 1906 lost his job as pastor of a Los Angeles church over his belief that glossolalia—speaking in tongues—was available to contemporary Christians; undeterred, he set up shop in a ramshackle building on L.A.'s Azusa Street, and thus touched off the "Azusa Street Revival," the beginning of the modern Pentecostal movement. Today, Pentecostalism is the fastest-growing form of Christianity in the world.

Interesting business figures also surface farther down in the list. The most

famous Victorian captains of industry—John D. Rockefeller, Andrew Carnegie (20), and J. P. Morgan (37)—made the Top 100, as did Sam Walton, Bill Gates, and Henry Ford (14), three figures familiar to any late-twentieth-century consumer. But why don't we remember other vote getters like Edwin Drake, the first businessman to suggest that prospectors consider drilling to find oil? Or Cyrus Field, who laid the first successful transatlantic cable, in 1858? Or Peter Cooper, an iron-and-steel magnate who—among his many accomplishments—invested in Field's cable, developed the first steam-powered locomotive, ran for president, founded the Cooper Union, and patented Jell-O?

Then there are America's inventors. Thomas Edison (9) earned votes from every panelist, but only John Steele Gordon voted for Nikola Tesla, the Croatian-born developer of the alternating-current approach to electricity, which won out over Edison's direct current. ("Every time we turn on a light switch," Gordon says, "we feel Tesla's influence.") Cyrus McCormick (73), whose mechanical reaper revolutionized American agriculture, made the Top 100. But why not Willis Carrier, the New Englander who developed air conditioning and thus changed forever the lives of Americans from Atlanta to Albuquerque? Before Carrier, H. W. Brands points out (from his air-conditioned Texas office), Dixie was terra incognita for most businesses, because "you couldn't expect people to accept transfers" south of the Mason-Dixon Line. William Faulkner made the list for immortalizing the humid, tormented Old Confederacy; surely Carrier deserves credit for creating the brassy, air-conditioned New South.

If Carrier's air conditioning built Atlanta, what about DeWitt Clinton's canal? Dubbed "Clinton's Ditch," the Erie Canal channeled a nation's commerce through Albany to New York City. "Stand on the corner of 42nd Street and look around," says Gordon. "Clinton gave us this."

Then there's Frances Perkins, one of Ellen Fitzpatrick's picks, whose monument is the payroll deduction found on every American paystub. As secretary of labor for Franklin Delano Roosevelt

AN EXPERT'S OPINION

INFLUENTIAL POETS

BY CHRISTIAN WIMAN

WALT WHITMAN (1819–1892)

The most influential American poet, beyond question. He was our first memoirist, our earliest Oprah (himself his only guest), our great prophet of the self. You can lay a lot of dreck at Whitman's door, but his spirit is so large, his voice still so vital, that it's impossible to think of him as anything but a powerful positive influence. No poet ever worked harder to project himself into the future, and no poet has ever been more successful. Many quintessentially American qualities—individualism, optimism, pluralism—find their best expression in Whitman's poetry, and even those of us who have never read him are influenced by him.

T. S. ELIOT (1888–1965)

He wrenched poetry into the twentieth century and gave an entire era a language for its anxieties. His influence is on the wane among poets, or at least in a lull, which is unfortunate. Eliot's work remains a great model for how to root real innovation and experimentation in a living tradition. It is also a reminder of the enduring pleasures of sound in poetry. But Eliot can't vanish; his work, like Whitman's, has entered the culture. We read him even when we don't.

WILLIAM CARLOS WILLIAMS (1883–1963)

Williams thought Eliot was a disaster for American poetry and publicly attacked "The Waste Land." He lost that battle but won the war. The next time you read a contemporary poem that is dominated by simple visual description, devoid of rhyme or meter, and suspiciously close to a basic prose paragraph broken up into lines, you are tasting the fruit of Williams's influence. A good poet (though not a great one), Williams isn't responsible for the blight of bad poetry that has followed him—but it's hard not to blame him just a little.

WALLACE STEVENS (1879–1955)

As poetry retreated into the academy, Stevens emerged as the dominant figure of the twentieth century. His influence is at once very deep and very narrow. Scholars and poets know his work inside out, but many educated people haven't



Walt Whitman



Sylvia Plath

even heard of him. The poems are dense, highly wrought, and full of otherworldly beauty—a necessary corrective to the Williams-esque plain style. But his work also has a hothouse, overintellectualized quality, which has endeared it to the academy and which contemporary poets would do well to purge.

SYLVIA PLATH (1932–1963)

Plath was Robert Lowell's student. Her achievement, though astonishing for someone who died at thirty, is not comparable to his, but for the past fifty years her work has had more influence. She's been a feminist icon, the high priestess of Confessionalism, and the required graveside reading for millions of undergraduate existentialists. Her overall influence has been terrible, promoting a kind of narcissistic despair that persists in many poems, novels, and movies today. That her work has survived all this ancillary frenzy, that it remains strange and original and troubling, is a testament to how good it really is.

Christian Wiman is the editor of Poetry magazine. His most recent book is *Hard Night*.

77 BETTY FRIEDAN
She spoke to the discontent of housewives everywhere—and inspired a revolution in gender roles.



78 JOHN BROWN
Whether a hero, a fanatic, or both, he provided the spark for the Civil War.

79 LOUIS ARMSTRONG
His talent and charisma took jazz from the cathouses of Storyville to Broadway, television, and beyond.

80 WILLIAM RANDOLPH HEARST
The press baron who perfected yellow journalism and helped start the Spanish-American War.



81 MARGARET MEAD
With *Coming of Age in Samoa*, she made anthropology relevant—and controversial.

82 GEORGE GALLUP
He asked Americans what they thought, and the politicians listened.

83 JAMES FENIMORE COOPER
The novels are unreadable, but he was the first great mythologizer of the frontier.



84 THURGOOD MARSHALL
As a lawyer and a Supreme Court justice, he was the legal architect of the civil-rights revolution.

85 ERNEST HEMINGWAY
His spare style defined American modernism, and his life made machismo a cliché.

86 MARY BAKER EDDY
She got off her sickbed and founded Christian Science, which promised spiritual healing to all.

87 BENJAMIN SPOCK
With a single book—and a singular approach—he changed American parenting.

88 ENRICO FERMI
A giant of physics, he helped develop quantum theory and was instrumental in building the atomic bomb.

(4), she midwifed Social Security into the world. The retirement program outlived her, and seems likely to also outlive William F. Buckley Jr. (another Fitzpatrick pick), despite his best efforts to eradicate it.

But it may not outlive the influence of another female pioneer: Julia Child, who was picked by Joyce Appleby, John Steele Gordon, and Gordon S. Wood, and whose fingerprints, in grease or flour, are smeared over every aspect of our culinary culture, from Emeril Lagasse to Whole Foods. (Wood, for one, expressed

surprise that someone like Walter Lippmann [89] would be deemed more influential than Child.)

Similarly, as long as there are self-help books and motivational speakers, America will feel the influence of Dale Carnegie, a Robert Dallek pick and the author of 1938's *How to Win Friends and Influence People*. And as long as there are Hollywood blockbusters, Americans will owe their summer entertainment—enjoyed in the cool of Willis Carrier's air conditioning—to Steven Spielberg (who received three votes,

PANELIST BIOGRAPHIES

JOYCE APPLEBY

Joyce Appleby is a professor emerita of history at the University of California at Los Angeles and a past president of the American Historical Association. Her works include *Thomas Jefferson*; *Inheriting the Revolution: The First Generation of Americans*; and *A Restless Post: History and the American Public*, a collection of essays and addresses published last year.

H. W. BRANDS

H. W. Brands is the Dickson, Allen, Anderson Centennial Professor of History at the University of Texas at Austin. He has written biographies of Benjamin Franklin, Theodore Roosevelt, and Andrew Jackson, and his most recent book is *The Money Men: Capitalism, Democracy, and the Hundred Years' War Over the American Dollar*.

ROBERT DALLEK

Robert Dallek is the author of *Franklin D. Roosevelt and American Foreign Policy, 1932–1945*, which won the Bancroft Prize; a two-volume biography of Lyndon Johnson; and *An Unfinished Life: John F. Kennedy, 1917–1963*. This spring, HarperCollins will publish his new book, *Nixon and Kissinger: Partners in Power*.

ELLEN FITZPATRICK

Ellen Fitzpatrick is the Carpenter Professor of History at the University of New Hampshire. Her works include *History's Memory: Writing America's Past, 1880–1980* and *Endless Crusade: Women Social Scientists and Progressive Reform*.

DORIS KEARNS GOODWIN

Doris Kearns Goodwin won the Pulitzer Prize for *No Ordinary Time: Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt: The Home Front in World War II*. She is also the author of *The Fitzgeralds and the Kennedys*; *Lyndon Johnson and the American Dream*; and most recently *Team of Rivals: The Political Genius of Abraham Lincoln*, which won the Lincoln Prize.

JOHN STEELE GORDON

John Steele Gordon is the author of *Hamilton's Blessing: The Extraordinary Life and Times of Our National Debt* and *The Great Game: The Emergence of Wall Street as a World Power, 1653–2000*. His most recent book is *An Empire of Wealth: The Epic History of American Economic Power*.

DAVID M. KENNEDY

David M. Kennedy is a professor of history at Stanford University and the Pulitzer Prize-winning author of *Freedom From Fear: The American People in Depression and War, 1929–1945*. He won the Bancroft Prize for *Birth Control in America: The Career of Margaret Sanger*.

WALTER McDUGALL

Walter McDougall is a professor of history and international relations at the University of Pennsylvania. He won the Pulitzer Prize for *The Heavens and the Earth: A Political History of the Space Age*. His other works include *Promised Land*, *Crusader State: The American Encounter With the World Since 1776*; *Let the Sea Make a Noise: A History of the North Pacific From Magellan to MacArthur*; and most recently *Freedom Just Around the Corner: A New American History, 1585–1828*.

MARK NOLL

Mark Noll is the McAnaney Professor of History at the University of Notre Dame. His works include *The Civil War as a Theological Crisis*; *The Rise of Evangelicalism: The Age of Edwards, Whitefield, and the Wesleys*; and *America's God, From Jonathan Edwards to Abraham Lincoln*.

GORDON S. WOOD

Gordon S. Wood is the Alva O. Way University Professor and a professor of history at Brown University. He won the Pulitzer Prize for *The Radicalism of the American Revolution* and the Bancroft Prize for *The Creation of the American Republic, 1776–1787*. His latest book is *Revolutionary Characters: What Made the Founders Different*.

from Brands, Goodwin, and Gordon) and George Lucas (two votes, from Wood and McDougall).

Finally, some of these figures touch our present era only indirectly, but dominated an earlier one. The Top 100 includes Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, and Betty Friedan, all of whom insisted that a woman's place was in the voting booth and the workplace as well as in the home. But while they won the argument in the end, for a long time other influences put that outcome in doubt. Walter McDougall's list, for instance, includes the nearly forgotten Sarah Josepha Hale. A nineteenth-century journalist, Hale edited the popular women's magazine *Godey's Lady's Book* from 1837 to 1877, and used its pages to promote an ideal of domestic goddesshood that eclipsed the feminist vision of women's place for decades.

McDougall also picked William Holmes McGuffey, the Presbyterian minister responsible for the McGuffey Readers. These books helped make Americans almost universally literate; and by emphasizing patriotism and hard work, political equality and Protestant faith, they taught their pupils to *be* Americans. But their day passed, and what was once a defining text of public education persists only because it's marketed to people who opt out—to Christian homeschoolers, for instance, who prefer McGuffey's mix of righteousness and rigor to the more latitudinarian texts that have replaced his.

Influence can be deep and yet ultimately ephemeral; our list reflects, as Robert Dallek put it, the "cruelty of historical memory." But if the fate of the McGuffey Readers and *Godey's Lady's Book* speaks to the impermanence of influence, much of the list speaks to its contingency as well.

Take Harry Truman (21), the man who dropped the atomic bomb and created the Truman Doctrine. Surely the hot-tempered little haberdasher meets Gordon S. Wood's criterion of a "peculiar personality" ideally suited to a historical moment. Yet his moment chose him only at the last minute, as a replacement for Henry Wallace, the left-wing former commerce secretary who was

AN EXPERT'S OPINION

INFLUENTIAL CRITICS

BY ROBERT MESSENGER

BERNARD BERENSON (1865–1959)

When Berenson went to Europe in 1887, there were no notable American art collections. It was his work of attribution and connoisseurship—and the critical volumes he produced—that led the Gilded Age's robber barons to buy Renaissance art and build America's great public museums. Berenson practiced criticism at its most advanced, using eyes, brain, and memory to organize and elucidate the remains of a culture—in his case, determining who had painted the surviving works of the Italian *tercento* and *quattrocento*. Though he has been derided for his commercial dealings, his work is still among the few towering American intellectual achievements.

CLEMENT GREENBERG (1909–1994)

Greenberg's *Art and Culture* is the best book of art criticism ever written by an American; the prose has a knock-down power that hasn't diminished over a half century. What counts in the influence race, though, is that by 1943, Greenberg had already recognized David Smith and Jackson Pollock as world-class artists. He grasped that abstract art was the dominant mode, and he had the critical eye and intellect to distinguish the greater artists from the lesser. He cajoled, encouraged, learned from, fought with, and critiqued the generation of painters that brought American visual arts into the big time. When you see a de Kooning or a Gorky, a Noland or a Frankenthaler at the museum, you're under Greenberg's influence.

JOHN HAMMOND (1910–1987)

Hammond—whose work as a jazz critic for *The Nation*, *Gramophone*, *Melody Maker*, and the *Brooklyn Eagle* expanded into work as a promoter and producer—was the impresario of jazz. He recorded the last sides of Bessie Smith and the first ones of Billie Holiday. He got Benny Goodman to take up swing—and introduced Lionel Hampton, Charlie Christian, and Teddy Wilson to Goodman's band—and made Count Basie a national star. While his jazz writings may not have the legs of the work of Leonard Feather, Otis Ferguson, and Gary Giddins, Hammond was largely



Robert M. Parker Jr.

responsible for moving jazz into the American mainstream.

RANDALL JARRELL (1914–1965)

Randall Jarrell was part of our greatest age of criticism: the age of Eliot, Richards, Warren, Blackmur, Tate, Brooks, Ransom. Even in such august company, he is notable for his combination of acumen and eloquence—and his sensitivity to the difficulty of writing even good poetry. He's read today mostly for his sparkling invective—"It is better to entertain an idea than to take it home to live with you for the rest of your life"—but his influence is evident in every poetry anthology. Jarrell decided much that we now think of as obvious. He pushed Robert Lowell as the poet of his generation, and he insisted on Elizabeth Bishop's importance; he saw past Robert Frost's country-spun persona and elucidated the dark and stirring depths of the verse. His essays, moreover, address all the concerns of contemporary poets. They ought to listen to him more.


ROBERT M. PARKER JR. (1947–)

No critic in history has ever wielded as much influence as Robert Parker. His ratings send customers scurrying to wineshops and drive prices skyward. Wines are being made on five continents to suit his preferences. With his exceptional palate and Nader-like devotion to the consumer, he revolutionized an industry that was dominated by insiders, obfuscation, and hyperbole twenty years ago. He's been attacked from all sides, but it is hard not to admire his consistency and his independence.

Robert Messenger is an Atlantic deputy managing editor.

89 WALTER LIPPMANN
The last man who could swing an election with a newspaper column.

90 JONATHAN EDWARDS
Forget the fire and brimstone: his subtle eloquence made him the country's most influential theologian.

91 LYMAN BEECHER
 Harriet Beecher Stowe's clergyman father earned fame as an abolitionist and an evangelist.

92 JOHN STEINBECK
As the creator of Tom Joad, he chronicled Depression-era misery.

93 NAT TURNER
He was the most successful rebel slave; his specter would stalk the white South for a century.

94 GEORGE EASTMAN
The founder of Kodak democratized photography with his handy rolls of film.



95 SAM GOLDWYN
A producer for forty years, he was the first great Hollywood mogul.

96 RALPH NADER
He made the cars we drive safer; thirty years later, he made George W. Bush the president.

97 STEPHEN FOSTER
America's first great songwriter, he brought us "O! Susanna" and "My Old Kentucky Home."



98 BOOKER T. WASHINGTON
As an educator and a champion of self-help, he tried to lead black America up from slavery.

99 RICHARD NIXON
He broke the New Deal majority, and then broke his presidency on a scandal that still haunts America.

100 HERMAN MELVILLE
Moby Dick was a flop at the time, but Melville is remembered as the American Shakespeare.

FDR's vice president for most of World War II, and who was bumped from the ticket over concerns that he was too sympathetic to Joseph Stalin's Russia. Had Roosevelt's Warm Springs stroke come just a little sooner, Wallace might be on the list—remembered, most likely, as the man who misunderstood Moscow, given that two of his closest advisers were Soviet agents.

There are many of these "unfluentials"—figures who, but for chance or the grace of God, might have been influential rather than obscure, and who hang like shadows around their better-remembered counterparts. LBJ (44) is shadowed by JFK, who, though hardly obscure, earned the votes of only two panelists; without an assassin's bullet, it would have been Kennedy wrestling with civil rights and Vietnam, and Johnson fading into the obscurity reserved for elderly vice presidents. Theodore Roosevelt (15) is shadowed by William McKinley, similarly felled by an assassin (though one suspects that Roosevelt would have found his way to influence in any event); Abraham Lincoln by Jefferson Davis, almost remembered as the father of a different American republic; Ulysses S. Grant (12) and Robert E. Lee (57) by Stonewall Jackson, who might have won the war

for Davis had he lived past the Battle of Chancellorsville.

Even George Washington has his shadows: Benedict Arnold, who was a better general than the man from Mount Vernon but proved a greater fool; and Horatio Gates, the Revolutionary War general who, after his victory at Saratoga, was favored by some colonial officers as a replacement for Washington.

Those that future historians deem influential will doubtless have their shadows as well. If history ranks Bill Clinton an influential for the ages, it will be at the expense of other Great Democratic Hopes whom history will slight: Gary Hart, say, whose extramarital dalliance went unforgiven, or Mario Cuomo, who dithered in 1992 while Clinton seized the moment, and the presidency. If Supreme Court Justice Anthony Kennedy's influence endures, it will be shadowed by the almost-influence of Robert Bork; likewise Samuel Alito and the shadow of Harriet Miers.

And if George W. Bush's imprint is still strongly felt in 2056, then Al Gore—a few Florida ballots (or one Supreme Court vote) short of the presidency—will be (barely) remembered for the influence he never had the chance to wield. ■

Ross Douthat is an Atlantic associate editor.

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**The American Philosophy of
Government as Expressed
by Abraham Lincoln**

No man is good enough to govern another man without that other's consent.— *October 16, 1854*

Let us have faith that right makes might.— *February 27, 1860*

I intend no modification of my oft-expressed wish that all men everywhere could be free.

Engaged as I am in a great war, I fear it will be difficult for the world to understand how fully I appreciate the principles of peace. Suppose you go to war, you can not fight always; and when, after much loss on both sides, and no gain on either, you cease fighting, the identical old questions as to terms of intercourse are again upon you.— *March 4, 1861*

The sheep and the wolf are not agreed upon a definition of the word liberty.— *April 18, 1864*

The doctrine of self-government is right—absolutely and eternally right.— *October 16, 1854*

Bullets are the rightful and peaceful successors of bullets.

My rightful masters, the American people.

This nation cannot live on injustice.— *1858*

Those who deny freedom to others deserve it not for themselves, and . . . can not long retain it.— *April, 1859*

Great statesmen as they (the fathers of the Republic) were, they knew the tendency of prosperity to breed tyrants, and so they established these great self-evident truths, that when in the future some man, some faction, some interest, should set up the doctrine that none but rich men, none but white men, or none but Anglo-Saxon white men were entitled to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, their posterity might look up again to the Declaration of Independence, and take courage to renew the battle which their fathers began, so that truth and justice and mercy and all the humane and Christian virtues might not be extinguished from the land; so that no man would hereafter dare to limit and circumscribe the great principles on which the temple of liberty was being built.— *Lincoln Yearbook*

**The German Philosophy of
Government as Expressed
by German Leaders**

There are two kinds of races, master races and inferior races. Political rights belong to the master race alone and can only be won by war.— *K. F. Wolff in Alldeutsche Blätter*

Might is the supreme right, and the dispute as to what is right is decided by the arbitrament of war.— *Bernhardi: Germany and the Next War*

There ought to be no sort of equality between the rights of the monarch and the right of the subject or slave.— *Frederick the Great*

Ye shall love peace as a means to new wars, and a short peace better than a long. I do not advise you to work but to fight; I do not advise you to compromise and make peace, but to conquer. . . . A good war hallows every cause.— *Nietzsche: Thus Spake Zarathustra*

An un-German freedom is no freedom.— *Chamberlain*

It is the soldier and the army, not parliamentary majorities and votes, that have welded the German Empire together.— *Kaiser William II*

There is only one master in this country; I am he and I will not tolerate another. There is only one law—the law which I myself lay down.— *Kaiser William II*

If there is anything to be gained by it, we will be honest; if deception is necessary, let us be cheats.— *Frederick II*

Not to live and let live, but to live and direct the lives of others, that is power.— *Dr Carl Peters*

A good and healthy aristocracy . . . should accept with a good conscience the sacrifice of untold numbers of men and women, who for its sake must be depressed to imperfect human beings, to slaves, to instruments. Its fundamental belief must be precisely that society ought not to exist for its own sake but only as a basis and scaffolding on which a selected race of beings may be able to elevate themselves to their higher mission, and in general to a higher existence.— *Nietzsche: Beyond Good and Evil*

Nothing stamped with the divine image and likeness was sent into the world to be trodden on and degraded and imbruted by its fellows.

If the Almighty had ever made a set of men that should do all the eating and none of the work, he would have made them with mouths only, and no hands; and if he had ever made another class, that he intended should do all the work ~~and none of the eating~~ he would have made them without mouths and with all hands.—*September 1859*

It would be very inconsistent for me to look with approval upon any measure that infringes upon the inalienable rights of white men, whether or not they are born in another land or speak a different language from our own.—*May 1859*

Four score and seven years ago our fathers brought forth on this continent, a new nation, conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal.—*November 19, 1863*

This country with its institutions, belongs to the people who inhabit it.—*1861*

Two principles have stood face to face from the beginning of time and will ever continue to struggle. The one is the common right of humanity; the other is the divine right of kings.—*October 15, 1858*
The people's will is the ultimate law for all.

Revolutionize through the ballot box.—*1856*

Teach men that what they can not take by an election, neither can they take by war.

If we can not give freedom to every creature, let us do nothing that will impose slavery upon any other creature.—*July 10, 1858*

It is foolish to talk of the rights of others; it is foolish to speak of a justice that would hinder us from doing to others what we ourselves do not wish to suffer from them.—

Karl Peters: Not und Weg

Let no man say every people has a right to its existence, its speech and the like.—*Joseph L. Reimer: Ein Pangermanisches Deutschland*

Men must come to realize that whoever can not speak German is a pariah.—*Chamberlain*

There never have been and never will be universal rights of men.—*Bernhardi*

There is only one person in the kingdom, that is myself.—*Frederick II*

I am the instrument of the Almighty, I am his sword, his agent. Woe and death to all those who shall oppose my will. Woe and death to those who do not believe in my mission.—*William II: Proclamation to the army of the East, 1914*

The state is in the first instance power. It is not the totality of the people. . . . It does not ask what the people wish. It demands obedience.—*Treitschke*

All written constitutions are only scraps of paper.—*Friederich William IV, April 11, 1847*

Therein lies the majesty of war that the petty individual altogether vanishes before the great thought of the state.—*Treitschke*

The state . . . can realize itself only by the destruction of other states, which logically can only be brought about by violence.—*Lasson: Kultur, Ideal und der Krieg*

Life is essentially appropriation injury, conquest of the strange and weak, suppression, severity, intrusion of its own forms, incorporation at the least, and in its mildest form exploitation.—*Nietzsche*

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